Daily Report

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Alia Discusses Crisis With Kosovo's Rugova

AU1507074791 Tirana ATA in English 1802 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 14 (ATA)—On July 14 the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, received at the Palace of Brigades, the chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova and its secretary, Bujar Bukoshi.

President Ramiz Alia bid them welcome to Albania and had a warm talk with them. During the talk, President Ramiz Alia spoke to them on the situation in the country. The new political solution attained recently with the creation of the National Stability Government, he said, inspires hope for the reestablishment of tranquillity and the reign of social peace. It constitutes a favourable premise to attain our target, creating a democratic and civilised state. The president said there exists a general willingness in Albania to march resolutely on the road of democracy. "But the obstacles we have to face are not few. The economic situation continues to be very difficult".

In continuation, President Ramiz Alia stressed that the further stabilization of political and social life in Albania is an urgent matter of national importance. In the current situation, when the Albanians in Kosovo and elsewhere in Yugoslavia are experiencing the most serious danger of all recent years and decades, Albania should be stable and the people must have understanding.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova expressed thanks for the warm reception. He gave a report on the current situation in Kosovo. He spoke of the intensification of repressive measures by Serbia against the Albanian population of Kosovo and the tension in this situation and stressed that, in these dramatic moments of the events in Yugoslavia, there exists the danger of a armed intervention against the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, particularly in Kosovo.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova assessed the stand maintained by the People's Assembly and our government in these crucial moments the Albanians of Kosovo and elsewhere in Yugoslavia are living through. In particular, he stressed the importance of the letter President Ramiz Alia addressed to the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the European Community which, as he put it, has been welcomed by the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

President Ramiz Alia, referring to the assessments made in relation to the situation in Yugoslavia and, particularly, in Kosovo, said that all of us in Albania are worried about the fate of our brothers. The Albanians have drawn lessons from history and will not allow any new cases of injustices at their expense. Europe, which sealed the division in half of the Albanian territories at the beginning of the century, should be more perceptible and more active toward the Albanians' cause.

In Yugoslavia, the president pointed out, the nationality crisis is merged with the political crisis. The northern republics want free and democratic development, whereas Serbia strives to maintain the old, to dominate through violence and repression. But this will not go a long way. The current world will not accept it. The fact that, in this conflict, the Albanians are on the democratic side is to their credit.

President Ramiz Alia reiterated the determination of the Republic of Albania to be by the side of our brothers in Kosovo and other territories, to support their legitimate demands regarding the fulfillment of all the rights belonging to them, on an equal footing with the other peoples and nations of Yugoslavia. The Albanians are in a position to determine their destiny themselves and have their own republic or any other status they deem necessary. The Yugoslav crisis cannot be solved without the Albanians, with respect for their national and civil rights.

The reception took place in a warm and fraternal atmosphere.

Bufi, Party Leaders Discuss Kosovo Situation

AU1307203091 Tirana ATA in English 1806 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 13 (ATA) - The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, received on July 13 at the seat of the premier's office, the Chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo Doctor Ibrahim Rugova, its Secretary Bujar Bukoshi, the chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Macedonia, Nevzat Halili and the member of the presidency of this party, Hasan Jashari.

In this meeting Doctor Ibrahim Rugova made an expose of the actual situation in Kosovo. He spoke of the intensification of Serbia's repression toward the Albanian population of Kosovo, the tense situation created as a result of the arming of the Serb population in Kosovo, the possibility of further aggravation of the situation. Doctor Rugova underscored that the danger of an armed reprisal against the Albanian population in Yugoslavia and particularly in Kosovo is real.

The chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, Nevzat Halili informed of the situation of the Albanians' human rights in Macedonia. In particular he laid the emphasis on the violation of the legitimate rights for the teaching in the mother tongue, the attempts of the authorities of this Yugoslav republic to deprive a great part of the Albanian population in Macedonia of the nationality.

Premier Ylli Bufi stressed the unwavering suport of the Government of the Republic of Albania for the democratic struggle waged by the Albanians in Kosovo and elsewhere in Yugoslavia for the realization of their legitimate rights. The Albanian Government, the premier told them, which is composed of representatives of five political parties, is unanimous in this support. This reflects the unique stand of all the political forces for this great national cause. Ylli Bufi assessed as very serious the situation created actually in Yugoslavia. Our government, he said, was naturally embarrassed by the use of force in Slovenia, but, it is understandable that we are particularly distressed for the destiny of our

brothers in the Yugoslav federation. He stated that in the meetings he had had with such personalities as Andreotti, Genscher and the Pope John Paul II he has put forth the stand of the Albanian Government according to which the future of Yugoslavia cannot be solved without the participation of the Albanians on an equal footing. The diplomatic initiatives of the government, the resolution of the People's Assembly, the letter of the President Ramiz Alia addressed to the permanent members of the Security Council, the CSCE and the European Community have played their role in the sensibilisation of the international public opinion. But taking into consideration the situation, the political and diplomatic endeavours of albania will become more energetic and persistent.

Premier Ylli Bufi condemned the policy of national oppression in Kosovo, the arbitrary and illegitimate acts of the Serb authorities that have led to the deprival of its autonomy and evaluated the wise, coolheaded and profoundly democratic stand of the Albanians and of the political forces in Kosovo. Kosovo he said, is a constituent element of the Yugoslav federation. The Albanians should enjoy all the rights the other nations of Yugoslavia enjoy, such as the Serbs, Croatian, Slovenes and others, including also the right to have their republic, as they have decided upon legally. In the talks for Yugoslavia's future the Republic of Kosovo should be a partner on equal footing with all the republics constituting the Yugoslav federation at present.

Assembly Continues Discussion of Land Bill

AU1207162991 Tirana ATA in English 0757 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 12 (ATA) — On July 11, the People's Assembly continued to discuss the draft land law submitted by the Council of Ministers. President of the Republic Ramiz Alia was present at the session.

During the session of July 11, there were, in general, two final opinions on the ownership on the land: first, that the peasant should be provided with land for use while it is still under state ownership and, second, that the peasant should be the owner of his land. Many deputies expressed the opinion that selling and buying land should be suspended for a set period of time, whereas, with regard to foreigners, all the deputies were of the opinion that, categorically, they should not be allowed to buy land.

Prime Minister Ylli Bufi proposed the following definition: juridical and physical persons should be provided with land in the Republic of Albania. In the context of the economic reform, the Council of Ministers should prepare a land law. At this, the proceedings ended. On July 12, before the session starts, the parliamentary groups will discuss the proposal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi.

Land Bill Stalemate Reported

AU1307111691 Tirana ATA in English 0819 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 13 (ATA) — On July 12 before noon, the People's Assembly continued its proceedings with the debate on the draft land law. Again, various opinions were voiced on the main question of whether land should remain state property, an idea defended by the deputies of the Socialist Party, or become private property, the idea of the group of deputies of the Democratic Party and Omonia.

At the end of the morning session, the vice-chairman of the presidency of the People's Assembly, Aleksander Meksi, said that due to the fact that the question under discussion has come to a point where neither the parliamentary groups nor the political parties are offering a solution on the basis of the program of the National Stability Government, presented in the draft land law, we think it is appropriate to call the government to the assembly to make clear what it thinks of the solution of the situation in the countryside and what possibilities exist for presenting a complete land law. In the afternoon, there were consultations of the parliamentary groups with Premier Ylli Bufi. The proceedings of the assembly will continue in plenary session on July 15.

National Assembly Adopts New Constitution

AU1207142791 Sofia BTA in English 1331 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 12 (BTA)—At 1255 hours local time [0955 GMT] the oldest MP opened a bottle of champagne in honour of the new Bulgarian Constitution. He was the 267th to sign it. 267 signatures were enough to turn the draft into a Constitution, but it was signed by 309 MP's. A year ago, on June 10 1990, Mr. Yosif Petrov opened the Grand National Assembly. Now, as the MP's had arranged it in advance, with his signature the Constitution received the required majority of two thirds.

"The Constitution is passed," the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Acad. Nikolay Todorov, announced at 1325 [1025 GMT], and the National Anthem rang out in the hall. The MP's chanted "Bulgaria" and "democracy."

The two deputy chairmen of the Grand National Assembly, Mr. Nikodim Popov and Mr. Ivan Glushkov, did not sign the Constitution. Mr. Nikodim Popov walked out of parliament about ten days ago with the faction of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party. The Constitution was not signed by Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev and Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, both MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces, who are out of the country. Today's session, however, was not attended by Minister of Finance Mr. Ivan Kostov. He only showed up in parliament this morning before the beginning of the session.

The Constitution was signed by three members of the present cabinet in their capacity of MP's: Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy prime minister (Bulgarian Socialist Party); Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs (Bulgarian Agrarian Party); and Mr. Veselin Pavlov, minister of transport.

The ceremony of the signing of the new Constitution was attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev, Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and members of the cabinet.

Besides the MP's of the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) who set up a boycott against parliament, another four MP's who were present at the session refused to sign the Constitution.

Several hundreds of people have rallied round parliament to protest against the passage of the Constitution. The traffic between the building of parliament and the University of Sofia and some of the by-streets have been blocked. At about 10 o'clock members of the Federation of Independent Students' Associations put huge posters reading "No To The New Socialist Constitution" and "Don't Forget December 14, 1989." On December 14, 1989, there was a numerous rally in front of parliament and President Petur Mladenov lost control and blundered out the notorious phrase about the tanks, which later on led to his resignation.

There are several hundreds of people on the other side of the building of parliament, where a group of MP's of the UDF have been on hunger strike for three days now in protest against the passage of the Constitution.

Today parliament is under reinforced guard.

When asked by journalists if he would say anything to the crowd around parliament, President Zhelev refused to make any comment.

Assembly Chairman's Address

AU1207145091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1029 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Statement by Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, at signing ceremony of new Bulgarian Constitution in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly deputies, esteemed Mr. President, esteemed guests: Today's political act of the Grand National Assembly is of historical significance.

The new Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria has been adopted. It lays the legal and political foundations of legislative democracy. The new Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria is the result of the National Assembly deputies' prolonged efforts, it is the result of the efforts of numerous scholars, scientists, and other experts who dealt with their task in a creative and effective manner.

The Constitution is the result of a thorough analysis based on Bulgarian and foreign experience in the field of constitutional law. It is an expression of a new approach to legislative work. It is the result of fresh and daring ideas and of sensible compromises. We are fully justified in being gratified by our work.

I am confident that the Bulgarian people who entrusted us with this task will also be satisfied. [Applause].

We are at the threshold of the transition from a totalitarian political and economic system to democracy and market economy. The Constitution we just adopted not only reflects the peculiar features of this historical situation, but will also serve the implementation of the tasks we are facing.

By signing the new Constitution we accomplished a great, new step toward Bulgaria's contribution to its own association with contemporary Europe. [Applause].

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, everything depends now on the question to what extent we are prepared for this historical chance, which we must take advantage of in a sensible manner, with a sense of responsibility, and with dignity. We can understand the

importance of this hour only if we remember our own regrettable experience under the authoritarian regimes.

Our people lived through events that caused numerous people great suffering, privations, and despair. Heroism and treachery, virtue and humiliation, creative spirit and destructive spirit stand side by side in our history.

With this historically burdensome past, which is, however, an inseparable part of our history, we are living through the present period of transition. Years will pass and history will make a just and correct assessment of today's event.

However, there is one thing we can state with complete conviction: Political pluralism, freedom of the individual, democracy, and personal and public prosperity are now firmly established in Bulgarian society and in the Bulgarian state.

If so far we have managed to protect civic peace thanks to the political wisdom and the sense of responsibility of the major political forces above all, we can say that from now on all legal guarantees that are rooted in the new Constitution are available to us.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, permit me on my own behalf and on behalf of the Grand National Assembly Bureau to express my tremendous respect and gratitude to the leaders of the political forces in parliament and to the leaders of their factions for the wisdom, manly courage, sense of civic and national responsibility they manifested.

As far as I am concerned, it is my conviction that we have accomplished a great deed, I would not like to be too hasty in calling it glorious, because I am certain that such will soon be the general evaluation and recognition of our deed.

For the time being we can be satisfied with the moral gratification and the awareness of having accomplished our duty. [Applause].

This date will always remain in our history as the day of democratic Bulgaria's Constitution. [Applause].

Let the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian state live for ever.

[Prolonged applause]

'Grand' Assembly Dissolved

AU1207121991 Sofia BTA in English 1154 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 12 (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly just voted to dissolve itself. It will carry on its functions as an ordinary National Assembly until the election of a new parliament.

The ordinary National Assembly is to pass legislation on elections, privatization, the police, the cooperatives, environmental protection, the national budget, the remission of parties' property to the state and the constitutional court.

MP's on Hunger Strike Said Manhandled by Police

AU1207201391 Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 12 (BTA)—Bulgarian Radio announced several times today that MP's have been attacked. Reportedly, this happened near the building off parliament where several hundred people protested the passage of the new Constitution. The MP's who went on hunger strike for the same reason are also camping there.

The Ministry of the Interior denied these rumours.

This evening Bulgarian Television showed a video-taped scene in which red-beret commandos—the task force of the Ministry of the Interior—acted toughly trying to impede the progress of the protesters (including MP's) to the building of parliament.

Mr. Osikovski, spokesman for the Internal Affairs Department in Sofia, admitted before TV audiences that certain MP's had indeed been manhandled but that everything had been lawful.

Before that television showed video-taped evidence by Mr. Medarski MP of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], who is on hunger strike. He said that he had been knocked down.

The host of the programme showed medical certificates, one of them to the name of an MP, in which bodily injuries were recorded.

Dimitrov Claims 'Beating'

AU1307182191 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 13 (BTA)—The Podkrepa Labour Confederation appealed to the president today to call a referendum on the new Constitution.

In a declaration broadcast on national radio this evening, Podkrepa President Dr. Konstantin Trenchev warned that there is a danger of the peaceful transition to democracy being interrupted "as a consequence of the operation of the former Grand National Assembly which is challenged by the public." Dr. Trenchev characterized the constitution as "hastily patched up" with no political consensus and moral credibility of the former Grand National Assembly, and called on President of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev to declare a referendum on the new basic law.

Law-enforcement officers beat up MP's in the full awareness of their immunity, said Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), calling on the prime minister and the Ministry of Internal Affairs to

bring to book the culprits for the incidents involving the MP's who went on hunger strike.

Mr. Dimitrov categorically protested against the beating which he described as an outrageous and inadmissible fact in a normal state.

Mr. Stefan Savov MP and Mr. Dimitur Kumanov MP have been admitted to the Pirogov Emergency Hospital for treatment of the effects of the fast. The physician on duty who attends the two MP's called on all state institutions to take urgent measures for a mutually acceptable and favourable outcome of the hunger strike. The doctor pointed out that some of the fasting MP's refuse to take even liquids. There are symptoms of hypoglycemia, the doctors said, voicing concern over the growing number of people who go on hunger strike in solidarity with the MP's.

On the initiative of students organizations, thousands of students and members of the public flocked to a procession and rally of solidarity with the fasters. The speakers expressed their support for the striking MP's who represent the real Union of Democratic Forces, as student leader Atanas Kirchev put it. Mr. Kirchev said that the opposition MP's who signed the Constitution were actually members of a "union of democratic socialism."

The hunger strike in the St. Aleksandur Nevski Square is going on.

Rally Demands Resignations

AU1207201091 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 12 Jul91

[Text] Sofia, July 12 (BTA)—A 30,000-strong rally of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), held on the Alksandur of Battenberg Square in Sofia, demanded the resignations of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, of Mr. Khristo Danov, minister of the interior, and Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov (of the SDS), mayor of Sofia.

Mr. Georgi Markov MP of the SDS and Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, blamed Mr. Danov and Mr. Karakachanov for the thrashing by the security forces of four MP's of the SDS who are on hunger strike protesting the signing of the Constitution. The four MP's were not identified. Mr. Markov described the people who maltreated them as "instigated red-beret commandos and Communists.

The rally called for the prime minister's resignation after Mr. Markov said a prime minister is supposed to govern and not to recite poems like an actor—probably alluding to his speech in parliament today.

The rally, which was scheduled a week ago as a concert-rally entitled "tomorrow starts today" turned into a protest against the Constitution which was passed today. Almost all MP's of the SDS who went on hunger strike for an unspecified time two days ago addressed the rally. "We have nothing to do with this ignominious Constitution," said Ms. Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the Radical Democratic Party. The rally cheered her at the words that the Bulgarian opposition is being reborn. The MP's who signed the Constitution were booed and called "Social-Communists, Social- Agrarians, Social demagogues" and "red trash." The rally hooted even louder the opposition MP's who signed the Constitution.

Opposition MP's Aleksandur Yordanov, Georgi Baev and Georgi Markov who have been on hunger strike for three days said they would die rather than quit the strike before a referendum is scheduled.

The Podkrepa Trade Union also insists on a referendum. Its sections in Sofia went on strike alert. The rally chanted "general strike."

The president should make no more concessions, Radical Democrat Aleksandur Yordanov said in connection with the date of the elections—September 29—which President Zhelev mentioned in his speech in parliament yesterday.

SDS Alleges News 'Blackout' on Hunger Strike

AU1307131991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Statement by Mikhail Nedelchev, spokesman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, made in Khorizont studio—live]

[Text] My statement is titled: Remove the Information Blackout.

We make this appeal to all Bulgarian citizens, to all the authorities, and to all the mass media journalists, in order to remind them that a large group of people's deputies of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are on hunger strike in the center of Sofia. Their civil protest is a unique act, not only in Bulgarian history. Some of them are in critical condition. Eminent political figures of the new Bulgarian democracy are placing their lives at risk.

The reasons for their extreme act are extremely serious. They consider a number of steps taken by a parliament dominated by a communist majority represent a threat to the fragile parliamentary democracy and to civil peace. The beatings inflicted upon people's deputies from the group provide a strong enough warning signal of a possible escalation of despotic violence.

The demands of the hunger strikers are well-known. The huge rally held in the Prince Aleksandur Battenberg Square in the center of Sofia on the evening of 12 July demonstrated whom the hundreds of thousands of citizens in the capital and millions throughout the country support, and whom they regard as political leaders. This is why we believe that this dramatic event in our most recent history is not being represented on the scale it deserves by the institutions that, according to all international legal standards, are bound to provide citizens with full and comprehensive information.

In any civilized country, this civic protest would not only be the most important news item, but would be covered by full-page reports on the front pages of the newspapers and be given prominent coverage in the radio and television news. The efforts of a few conscientious and civic-minded journalists, to whom we are very grateful, are not sufficient in this case. This should be the position of all those in charge of the relevant information institutions. We appeal to them to show objectivity, and warn them that the imposition of an information blackout is a threat to democracy.

In any civilized country, the members of parliament on hunger strike would be immediately visited by the president of the republic, the prime minister, and by the chairman and members of the bureau of the national assembly. We leave it to their own judgement whether they should do this.

In addition, we address a personal appeal to Veselin Pavlov, minister of transport and communications. We have been informed by postal officials that they are receiving hundred of telegrams in support of the hunger strikers, but these telegrams are not reaching them. Regrettably, this has been the practice for some time, since we ceased to take part in the Grand National Assembly sessions on 13 May. We appeal to the minister to do what is necessary in order not to encroach upon this basic civic and human right of a large group of members of parliament. Our supporters are finding ways to express their support, concern, attention, and love for the striking people's representatives. The SDS leadership warmly thanks them.

We hereby notify you [Minister Pavlov] that at the moment the SDS is doing what is necessary to inform the international public on the drama that is being played out by the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier, and to seek the moral and legal judgment of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the interparliamentarian unions of the European parliaments, the U.S. Senate and Congress, and other national and international organizations.

[dated] Sofia, 13 July 1991.

Poll on Constitution, Elections Reported

AU1407190791 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 14 (BTA)—Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents in the latest public opinion poll conducted by the National Public Opinion Center, approved of the Grand National Assembly in this composition passing the Constitution, 20 per cent disapproved and 23 per cent expressed no opinion.

The poll found that 67 per cent of Bulgarians would not join any form of protest if their favoured party loses the elections, 32 per cent would take part in protest rallies, 14 per cent in an effective strike and 7 per cent in a sit-in strike. Those who would be ready for a direct confrontation are 3 per cent.

If parliamentary elections were held today, 32 per cent of the electorate would vote for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), 27 per cent for the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), 11 per cent for the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), 7 per cent for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and 19 per cent would not vote at all.

Asked whether they want their favoured party to enforce strict control on the media if it wins the elections, 50 per cent of those polled say no, 22 per cent say they don't know, and 28 per cent agree to gagging their political opponents.

Here is the latest approval rating of political leaders: Mr. Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, 67 per cent approval, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the republic, 65 per cent, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov 60 per cent and Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev 52 per cent.

Dr. Zhelev can count on 44 per cent of the vote in possible presidential elections. He has practically no competition. The next on the list of preferences, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, aggregated merely 13 per cent.

Popov Welcomes Greek Demilitarization Proposal

AU1307200591 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 13 (BTA)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov welcomed the initiative of Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis on the establishment of a demilitarized zone on both sides of the common border between Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey and described the idea as a substantial contribution to the stabilization of the Balkans.

"Now it is time for the three countries' governments to find enough goodwill and time and make a tangible contribution to ease the situation in the Balkan peninsula by tangible steps for the demilitarization of the zone on both sides of the border between these countries," Mr. Popov said. By this step, the three Balkan neighbours would contribute to the CSCE process, which is particularly important now in the hypersensitive region of the Balkans against the background of alarming developments in Yugoslavia, according to the Bulgarian head of government.

In a televised interview this evening Mr. Popov expressed the hope that the Turkish Government will also respond to this initiative which was unveiled yesterday. He also discussed the results of his visit today to the town of Khaskovo in southeastern Bulgaria.

In answer to a question from the host of the weekly political TV review "Panorama," the prime minister said that an investigation has been ordered into the

security forces incident involving fasting MP's, an incident which the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces Mr. Filip Dimitrov described as "beating."

The prime minister called on the Bulgarians for restraint, composure and respect for the law and democracy in the strained political situation prior to and during the elections.

Government Declaration on Proposal

AU1307190691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] We have received a Bulgarian Government declaration stating the following:

The Government of the Republic of Bulgaria welcomes with great attention and interest the initiative of Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis regarding creating on each side of the borders between Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey zones free of offensive weapons, as mentioned in the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe.

The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria supports the idea of seeking ways to reduce tension and strengthen the confidence, stability, and security of the Balkans and Europe, in the spirit of the accords of the all-European process.

By means of appropriate negotiations, mutually acceptable solutions should be sought that should not be to the detriment of any country.

The achievement of this goal would be impossible without the consent and cooperation of NATO. The Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to participate without delay in consultations and meetings to implement in practice any initiatives aimed at encouraging a favorable political climate in our region.

WANO Offers Technical Assistance for Kozloduy

AU1207153891 Sofia BTA in English 1420 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Kozloduy, July 12 (BTA)—The World Association of Nuclear Operators, WANO, immediately responded to the appeal of the Bulgarian nuclear power plant for help. WANO experts will render technical assistance for the reconstruction of the four WWER-440 generating units.

WANO's programme includes three stages: immediate, medium-term and long-term measures. It is extremely important for the plant's secure operation to improve its organizational structure, to change its operational structures and emergency instructions, to improve operators' training and to get spares and equipment from the nuclear power plant at Greifswald, Germany. The programme will be financed by the EC.

On the basis of this programme a project has been worked out by the management of the n-plant for removing of the four units' defects. They will undergo repair and will be re-loaded by stages. The project also envisages organizational, structural and personnel changes by clearly defining all responsibilities, improving the quality of labour and technological discipline and settling operators' social problems.

Interior Minister Danov Completes Visit to Greece

AU1207081691 Sofia BTA in English 2001 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 11 (BTA)—Today Mr. Khristo Danov, Bulgaria's minister of the interior, and a delegation he led returned from a three-day official visit to Greece which they paid at the invitation of Mr. Ioannis Varvitsiotis, minister of public order of Greece, the Ministry of the Interior Press Centre reported today.

The ministers signed an agreement on cooperation in combatting international terrorism, drugs trafficking, organized crime, illegal large-scale financial operations, arms smuggling, and smuggling of works of art and discussed possible ways for implementing the agreement.

The Bulgarian delegation was received by Mr. Tzannis Tzannetakis, deputy prime minister of Greece. Mr. Danov and Mr. Tzannetakis expressed their satisfaction at the signing of the agreement and their belief that it is a further step in promoting trust and good- neighbourly relations between the two countries.

Government Refuses To Increase Minimum Wage

LD1207170791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Excerpt] Further important economic policy measures were on the agenda of today's regular session of the Federal Government in Prague. The most important of these were reported at the subsequent news conference by Ministers Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Dlouhy. Also present was our editor Miroslav Konvalina.

[Konvalina] The report on the first quarter's economic performance discussed today by the Federal Government should form the basis of discussion inside and outside the Assembly on the economy. The analysis, which notes a fall in the GNP of about eight percent, will be presented to the Federal Assembly. In this connection the government was briefed on the content of the memorandum of development policy submitted to the World Bank, and it discussed specific economic measures ensuing from the memorandum in setting specific economic reform measures. No less important was its discussion of a loan amounting to 700 million Ecus for Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary which will be released from EC funds by the European Investment Bank for specific infrastructure development projects.

The Federal Government then refrained from approving a rise in the minimum wage to 2,200 Korunas, pointing out the danger of fueling inflation that would arise from this measure and other destabilizing effects in the economy. On the other hand, the Federal Government did support amendments to the law on small privatization; in particular, regulations relating to letting for periods of up to 10 years, and shortening the time before the hammer falls for the third time in actions.

Last but not least the government heard a report on the state of the environment, which will be submitted to the Federal Assembly committees and subsequently published. [passage omitted]

June Data Reported on Unemployment in Republics

AU1207181191 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Jul 91 p 3

["ci" report: "Unemployment Higher Again in June"]

[Text] As of 30 June, the rate of unemployment in the Czech Republic rose to 2.6 percent from the 2.2 percent recorded at the end of last month. At this date, unemployment benefits were collected by 86,877 people in the Czech Republic, while only 778 people collected retraining allowances. The labor exchanges in the Czech Republic registered 39,845 new job seekers and the total number of unplaced job seekers, including those unplaced last month, reached 139,351 people at the end of June.

In comparison with the situation at the end of May, the number of available jobs declined (from 37,129 to 35,176). The highest job availability is in the North Moravian region, Prague is second. Labor jobs still strongly dominate the list. The highest rate of unemployment in the Czech Republic was in the North Moravian region (3.66 percent), the list of districts is headed by Breclav (5.55 percent), followed by Znojmo and Karvina districts.

In the Slovak Republic, the labor exchanges registered 161,416 unemployed at the end of June. The rate of unemployment reached 6.32 percent. Despite the fact that the pace of unemployment growth in June was the lowest this year, the absolute increase was the highest and reached 24,061 people. On the average, the rate of unemployment is higher in all Slovak regions when compared with the Czech regions; it is greatest in the West Slovak region (6.83 percent). We will publish tables and a more detailed commentary in tomorrow's issue on page 8.

Federal Cabinet Decides To Buy Surplus Cereal

LD1207173291 Prague CTK in English 2021 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Cabinet decided at its session today to purchase an expected 1991 domestic surplus of 1,260,000 tons of wheat and 200,000 tons of rye at a cost of 4,780 million crowns (159.3 million USD) [currencies as received].

Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told a press conference after the Cabinet meeting that the government hopes to recoup part of the expense, paid for by the Federal Administration of Material Reserves, by selling the cereals abroad. The total loss expected is 867.6 million crowns (28.9 million USD).

One condition of the purchase, said Dlouhy, is that the money remaining in the market regulation funds of the Czech and Slovak Republics will not be used for any further subsidies of agricultural products on the domestic market.

The Federal government will also create a Federal council of market regulation to function as a coordinating centre for regulating the domestic agricultural market, and the Federal Economics Ministry will draft a proposal for the creation of a Federal market regulation fund.

The Federal Administration of Material Reserves budget will receive an additional 1,000 million crowns (333.3 million USD) until the market regulation fund is created.

Further measures dealing with surpluses of milk, dairy products and meat will be taken by the Federal government at the second round of its negotiations with farmers in Zidlochovice next week, Dlouhy said.

Slovak farmers blocked roads and ceased deliveries of produce for one hour earlier today in protest against cutbacks in goverment subsidies. They described the

action as a warning to the Federal and Slovak governments that Slovak agriculture was in crisis and needed price supports, import protection and help in finding foreign markets for surplus crops.

Civic Movement Calls For Agricultural Subsidies

AU1207155291 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 10 (CTK)— The Civic Movement (OH), the political grouping with the largest number of ministers in the Federal and Czech Governments, says the country's agriculture is being crippled by the continuing monopoly of distribution organizations and calls for subsidies for agricultural producers.

It urges the establishment of a Federal Committee for Agriculture and Food to coordinate the solution of agricultural problems on a nationwide scale and internationally, and to chart out the country's agricultural policy.

The proposals are contained in an OH agricultural program which was made available to CTK today.

The OH notes that distribution organizations have made profits of 5,000 million crowns [currency as received] since prices were liberalized at the beginning of the year while farmers have to sell at the same or even lower prices than last year. At the same time their expenses have increased. About half of all farms are insolvent and this could rise to 88 percent, the OH warns.

OH wants subsidies to be given to farmers so they can modernize their facilities and says the agricultural market should be regulated on the federal level.

At present, federal agricultural policy is within the jurisdiction of Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy (Civic Democratic Alliance - ODA) and ministries of agriculture exist only on the Czech and Slovak Republic levels.

Dlouhy said recently the government may subsidize agricultural exports to help farmers reduce their surpluses, caused mostly by lower domestic consumption in Czechoslovakia this year. The government removed most farm subsidies last year.

Budget Statistics on Surplus, Inflation Reported

AU1307112391 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Jul 91 p 4

[Economic Statistics from CTK in the "Economics" column]

[Text]

Insolvency (in billion korunas)	
31 Dec	53.6
31 Jan	77.7
31 Feb	78.2
31 Mar	76.4
31 Apr	67.0
31 May	63.4

As of the second quarter, changes were introduced because of "congestion" in the computer registration of insolvency. Therefore, a part of overdue debts is not included in the bank registers. Thus, it is probable that no decline in insolvency occurred during April and May.

Total State Budget Surplus and the Rate of Inflation (1991)

	State Budget Surplus (in billion korunas)	Rate of Inflation (in percents)
January	1.6	25.8
February	6.8	7.0
March	14.2	4.7
April	16.3	2.0
May	21.3	1.9

The total state budget surplus continues to grow. It began as a result of the enormous increase of profits in the enterprise sector. Following the 1 January 1991 reduction of the profit tax from 65 to 55 percent and the 20 percent decline of industrial production in April and May (compared to the same period last year), exactly the opposite development was expected. However, the almost 70-year-old thesis of economics that a monopoly (under otherwise constant conditions) produces less goods at a higher cost than an enterprise operating in an environment of competition was confirmed.

Volume of Savings (total in billion korunas)	
31 Dec	280.5
31 Jan	270.0
28 Feb	276.6
31 Mar	280.5
30 Apr	284.0
31 May	287.4
30 Jun	294.4

The volume of savings grew nicely even in the first half of this year, which testifies (after an initial hesitation) to the growing trust in Czechoslovak currency. However, the inflationary jump at the beginning of the year substantially reduced the real value of the savings.

Pithart Urges Agriculture Minister To Resign

LD1307170191 Prague CTK in English 1555 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 13 (CTK)—"Today I definitely made up my mind to propose at all costs (the resignation of

Czech Agriculture Minister Bohumil Kubat)", Czech Premier Petr Pithart stated on Czechoslovak television this evening.

"In short, Minister Kubat does not have my trust. I told him that yesterday morning, at the same time appealing to him to step down from his post", said Pithart. "Despite the fact that a large majority of the government has the same opinion as I do, he refused".

Commenting on the situation in Czech agriculture, Pithart said the Czech Republic was facing the same crisis as Slovakia in securing markets for its farm products, with surpluses of grain, meat and dairy products.

Officials from the Federal, Czech and Slovak Governments met for talks on the problem Thursday in Zidlochovice where they agreed to form a federal fund to regulate the domestic agricultural market.

"The federal government will 'intervene' by buying up the surplus production—1,000 million litres of milk, 234,000 tons of cattle, 1,460,000 tons of grain—thus allowing us to maintain prices at the determined levels", Pithart said.

He appealed to farmers to "keep a cool head", thanking them for their "faith in the Czech Government as expressed through your refraining from ostentatious protest actions up to this point. ... The government, or rather the governments, have now done all they can do".

Federal officials also agreed to purchase surpluses of butter, hard cheese, low-fat powdered milk and other dairy products that can be stored. Sixty-five thousand tons of cattle will be sold by the government to the Russian Federation, 20,000 tons will go into state freezers and the remainder it hopes to sell to Italy, Mexico, Syria, Kuwait and Lebanon.

Pithart said the buy-up would be "very costly", and that the grain operation alone would require a subsidy of 1,000 million crowns (333.3 million dollars).

Dubcek Says Japanese Investors Cautious

LD1407191591 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 14 (CTK)—Chairman of Czechoslovak Parliament Alexander Dubcek returned yesterday from a seven-day trip to Japan and Ireland with a promise of 200 million dollars in Japanese loans, he told CTK in an interview today.

Dubcek said he also suggested to the Japanese Government that they should speed up work on a bilateral agreement on protection and support of investments. "I noticed that Japanese business people are careful, they want to be certain about every step they take".

"Our interest in becoming Japan's partner in investment, trade, tourism, culture and sports is based on the fact that Japan is one of the world's economic leaders", said Dubcek. "My task is not to make economic agreements, but ...to contribute in my own modest way to opening the doors for economic cooperation. That is what I was trying to do (in Japan)".

He said many people asked how the current situation in Yugoslavia was reflected in Czechoslovakia. "Not only in Japan, but everywhere there is great emphasis laid on political and governmental stability".

Responding to a criticism made last week by a Czech daily that he was absent from Parliament, Dubcek said his plans to travel with a parliamentary delegation to Japan had been made several months in advance, and had been timed to fall in between sessions of Parliament. "I spoke with leaders of the Japanese Parliament about the possibility of postponing our trip, but it was no longer possible".

Slovak Council Discusses Rehabilitation, Land Law

AU1207152591 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Antonia Vymazalova and Stefan Hrcko report: "The Hot Potato Is Cooling Down"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—At the beginning of the second day of the 16th Slovak National Council [SNR] session—which was held under tight security—deputies completed their discussions on the government draft SNR law on alleviating some property and other wrongs and the jurisdiction of Slovak Republic state administration bodies in the out-of-court rehabilitation sphere. Nineteen deputies, including six who had already made their contributions on Tuesday, spoke in the debate.

The debate was predominantly marked by a succession of speeches made by deputies from individual legislative parties and movements in an attempt to ascertain which one of them could best describe the sufferings of the people forcibly deported by NKVD [Soviet secret service under Stalin] organs to the USSR in the years 1944-46. Only a small part of the debate was made up of direct comments on the wording of the law. The majority of debaters spoke about the number of people affected and about the procedures involved in forcible deportation. However, emotionally colored speeches about the various family tragedies and the suffering of the communities affected by forcible deportation were also made. From 1944 to 1946 the NKVD deported approximately 8,000-10,000 people from East Slovakia to the USSR. They were interned in special camps (gulags) for one to 10 years. Of those who returned, around 3,500 are still alive. Only the youngest SNR deputy, Jozef Berenyi (Hungarian Independent Initiative [MNI]), was in favor of the principles of legality, justice, and economy as opposed to rehabilitation. The other deputies supported the proposal. [passage omitted]

Some deputies were disappointed that the plenum adopted two fundamental suggestions—made by Rudolf

Hamerlik (Christian Democratic Movement) and Ladislav Pirovits (MNI)—on whose basis collaborators may also apply for rehabilitation if they had been deported to the USSR. The SNR then approved the law as well as a resolution (proposed by A. Hrnko) entrusting the Presidium, via the Federal Foreign Ministry, with the task of turning to USSR authorities with a request that documents in Soviet archives pertaining to the deportation of citizens from Slovakia be made available.

During the afternoon, the government draft SNR law on carrying out land improvements and on several other measures to renew the execution and arrangement of land ownership (the SNR law on land adjustments) was proposed by Slovak Agriculture and Food Minister Jozef Krsek and Jan Varju (Party of the Democratic Left), the SNR committees' joint rapporteur. They emphasized the extraordinary importance and urgency of passing the proposed legal amendment because it would be impossible to implement the federal land law without it. The draft will deal with the execution of land improvements, the status and jurisdiction of land offices, the Slovak Land Fund, special stipulations on alleviating some property wrongs, Slovak Republic organs' jurisdiction in implementing the land law, and the rectification of specific problems connected with owning property in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Almost the entire debate—as opposed to the debate on the previous law—was matter-of-fact. The 21 deputies involved submitted approximately 30 amendments and supplementary proposals. [passage omitted]

In the end, the deputies decided that all the suggestions will be considered by a group of deputies and experts. They will vote on them on 12 July. Thus, the hot potato is cooling down.

At the end of the session, the deputies discussed and approved a government draft SNR law on changes in the organization of ministries and other central Slovak Republic state administration services. This draft was proposed by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Zaszlos and Milan Galanda (Public Against Violence Movement), the SNR committees' joint rapporteur. This draft establishes the Slovak Republic Ministry of Transportation and Communications, abolishes the Slovak Republic Ministry For Economic Strategy, and entrusts the Slovak Republic Ministry of Trade and Tourism with executing state administration for foreign trade.

The session continues today.

Carnogursky Addresses Council

LD1207181791 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1040 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Report by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky to the 16th session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 11 July—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed Mr. Chairman of the session, esteemed Slovak National Council: You are beginning discussion on a report on the implementation and update of the Slovak Government policy statement. In this report, the government is reacting to the 14 June 1991 resolution of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council in which you established the task of the government to put forward to today's session of the Slovak National Council the report on the implementation of the policy statement of July 1990 and to update the policy statement for the second half of the election period.

The government decided to place in the first half of the documents the report on the implementation of the tasks set in the policy statement as they were adopted by the Slovak National Council last July, and as a link to it, in the second part, it updates the policy statement by the necessary corrections that follow from the analysis of its activity hitherto—in particular, from the assessment of the phenomena accompanying the transformation of our economy.

The updated policy statement preserves the continuity of all key political, social, cultural, and economic targets included in the original policy statement. The course and the results of the process of transformation in the Slovak Republic have reflected the depth of problems that accumulated over 40 years. I would, however, like to remind you that when assessing the development of the economy and, in particular, its unfavorable phenomena, insufficient stress is put on the fact that many are the result of previous development and not of the application of the economic reform.

The government continues to take responsibility for implementing the changeover of the economy, which is centrally planned, to a market economy, a change to which it pledged itself by its policy statement of July 1990. It is aware of the need to react to all problems that are brought about by this changeover, and it reacts to it by expressing its economic policy in concrete terms; this is how the updated policy statement should be understood. The solidification of economic policy is not in the forefront of the principles of economic reform; it is only the utilization of what is made possible by the blueprint of the economic reform and what the government is trying to make use of with the aid of this disposable instrument [dispozibilne instrumentarium].

The government considers it important at this stage to complement the balancing of supply and demand, achieved in particular by the limitation of the aggregate demand with some dynamizing element that will provide conditions for getting the economy on the path of gradual development.

The government paid particular attention to the formulation of the policy of development in the form of programs for reviving the economy. It is a new element in the activity of the government that was not contained in the government policy statement of last July. The

programs for reviving the economy have their concrete side, for which the entrepreneurial sector will be responsible along with individual ministries and the system side. The programs are based on the identification of the central problems of the Slovak economy, and their aim is the necessary restructuring of the economy. The participation of entrepreneurial subjects in these programs will be linked with state support. This will happen with the help of the instruments of the budget, credit, interests, taxes, and reduction policies. In this way, the government wants to react to some negative effects that the transformation of the economy is bringing to the population and to the enterprises. Therefore, the government has adopted a system of special measures that are concentrated, in particular, on finding a solution to credit indebtedness and insolvency of enterprises, on the stimulation of demand in the production sphere and in the population, on reviving the investment market, on the issues of comprehensive housing construction, valorization of budget expenses, in particular of health care, education, and of social affairs, and on the sale of agricultural surplus.

The government is not happy about the course of privatization so far, in particular, of small-scale privatization, where delays against original expectations are taking place as a result of a delay in issuing legislative amendments, and also of other shortcomings in the institutions and manpower that are overseeing this part of privatization.

In the process of large-scale privatization, the government will be paying careful attention to material and organizational preparation, working out privatization projects and the transfer of the property of the privatized organizations.

To prevent the whole process from lagging behind what was intended, it will be necessary for the original founders, along with the management of the state enterprises, to show more initiative in dealing with the critical state of the enterprises and in seeking a new path for development.

The update of the government's policy statement also contains schemes aimed at the support of small and medium-sized businesses and the entry of foreign capital.

Esteemed deputies. The change of the economy from central planning to a market economy is a long-term and complicated process. Measures anchored in the economic policy of the Slovak Government create conditions for changing gradually the economy from a state of recession to a state of development. The results will be influenced by the adaptability of the business sphere and also by a substantial change in the attitudes and work of the ministries and of all involved bodies of the state administration. The government intends to carry out active economic policy, and it is convinced that the principles of the economic reform create a sufficiently wide space even for dealing with problems that cannot be expected to be solved automatically by the market on its own. The government had to seek, when updating its policy statement, the right measure of concreteness and particularization. The policy statement does not want to, and cannot, be a specific guide for the proceedings of individual ministries, and even less so of individual enterprises.

Therefore, the government has intentionally chosen a measured detail and specificity that has made it possible to define, with sufficient accuracy and validity, the main profile features of its activity on all levels, in particular in the key area of the economy. The government's update on the policy statement defines clearly, in this regard, the main principles of government economic policy in the next period, its primary goals, and describes the tools that government will use, in harmony with the principles of the transformation of the economy. The government is convinced that the chosen measure of specificity and detail—and not a greater one—creates space for the activity of entrepreneurial subjects, for the formation of their adaptation process.

On the other hand, the government is aware that this declaration will have to be worked out in concrete form with regard to the business sphere, to microeconomics. It is not based on the idea that the problems connected with the transformation of the economy will be solved by the automatic impact of market forces, nor on the conviction that it is in the power of the government to supply functions to the entrepreneurial sphere that cannot be supplied. This conviction determines the measure of specificity and detail the government sought in the update of its policy statement.

Esteemed deputies, I am looking forward to a discussion on this report. Thank you.

Agreement Signed With Russia on Currency Payments

LD1307170691 Prague CTK in English 1242 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 13 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak-Russian payments agreement signed here today clears the way for payment in hard currency, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said after signing the document.

The two other "main channels for payment" opened between Czechoslovakia and the Russian Federation of the Soviet Union, said Klaus, are clearing settlements for barter trade and various types of payment in national currencies.

He explained that deficits developed by either side in barter trade will be made up in goods, provided an agreement can be reached. Otherwise, the account will be balanced by a payment in convertible currency.

"This agreement was prepared as a model", said Klaus. "We expect to negotiate similar agreements with the

other union republics. Payment agreements with Ukraine and Belorussia should be signed by the end of this month".

Controversy Surrounding Syrian Tank Sale Reported

AU1107155891 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Jul 91 p 16

["ju, hri" report: "Tanks, Tanks, Tanks"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday some mass media reopened the issue of the sale of 250 tanks to Syria and the upcoming contract on the sale to Iran of 1,500 tanks mothballed by the Czechoslovak Army. In this connection, Federal Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky told us that not a single tank will be sold to Iran because the contract prepared by Omnipol [a foreign trade organization] has not been approved by any of the appropriate ministries.

We found out in the Slovak Republic Economy Ministry Secretariat that the production of tanks for Syria in ZTS [Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises] Martin "has almost ground to a halt." In order to clarify this report, our reporter in Bratislava asked ZTS Martin Director Engineer Jan Segla for an explanation.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Could you give us your opinion on this issue?

[Segla] I will not tell you anything. You should be more interested in economic reform. Do not make a sensation out of this. What are you concerned about? This is a government matter.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Of course, we will also talk to Mr. Meciar. We only wanted to know your opinion....

[Segla] Why Mr. Meciar? What does this have to do with him? Mr. Meciar has acted seriously as far as conversion is concerned. Why do you want to create a scandal out of this?

The original argument in favor of selling 250 tanks to Syria referred to the need to amass funds from tanks already produced for the conversion of the armaments industry. The Slovak Economy Ministry has promised to answer today the question whether the tanks really were produced before the sales contract was concluded.

Countries Unable To Pay for TAMARA System

AU1507100191 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Jul 91 p 2

["(ert)" signed report: "TAMARA is in the USSR, Too"]

[Text] Prague—Reports about the super sensitive Czechoslovak TAMARA system—capable of locating targets emitting radio signals, including the so-called Stealth invisible aircraft—have recently caused a journalistic sensation. On 2 July our editorial office attempted to obtain a rational point of view regarding these reports and an informed opinion about the aforementioned system. J. Opocensky, the director of Tesla Pardubice—which has this technology on its production program—made a statement about the TAMARA system through CTK yesterday. Among other things, he said: "We sold the TAMARA system to former Warsaw Pact states through the Omnipol foreign trade enterprise. However, sales were suspended last year. The purchasers, including the USSR, are unable to pay for it. Nevertheless, interested parties from other countries are also in contact with us. We are willing to sell the system to anyone and we feel that it will be marketable throughout the world. If open skies agreements are reached, we are convinced that TAMARA is a system that will make it very easy to supervise adherence to these agreements."

Finance Minister Briefs Journalists on Economy

AU1307091491 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Jul 91 pp 1, 9

["B.K."-signed report: "Kupa: According to Plan"]

[Text] People who understand symbols probably appreciated the fact that the current Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa invited economic journalists aboard a museum boat that is named after a former finance minister, Kossuth, on Tuesday evening, 9 July. The finance minister called the meeting to summarize the balance of the first six months of his program and of the events in the economy.

According to Mihaly Kupa, his program is progressing "according to plan", because it takes the "nature" of the Hungarian debt into consideration, and it stimulates a quick change in the economy by using methods that are still bearable for the majority of our society. In his opinion, Hungary's transformation could become some kind of "model for success", unless we spoil our own image from within. It is undeniable, though, that a kind of competition, even a bidding, has evolved for Western capital with Poland and the CSFR. One of the reasons Mihaly Kupa will meet in Prague in August with the finance ministers of the CSFR and Poland is that the sides want to prevent being played off against each other.

In our finance minister's view, the greatest achievement of the last six months was that we managed to control the economic process. We managed to keep to the planned balance of payments and inflation figures, the forint is stable, and our foreign trade balance is not as grave as was stated by various experts. However, it is a fact that, due to the collapse of our trade with the Soviet Union, our GDP will be smaller than expected, and the budget deficit will be 10 billion forints higher than planned. This deficit can be financed from individual savings; this is one of the reasons treasury bonds will be issued. The 7 billion forint budget reserve was allocated almost in advance, which presents a problem because this has made the financial leadership's room to maneuver even narrower. Analyzing the economy's state after six months, Kupa mixed humor, cynicism, and optimism in his usual way. According to the cocktail he mixed this way, we are at a turning point in many respects. This also applies to inflation, which could get out of hand if more of the current methods of various political pressure continue. Kupa mentioned the 5 billion forints that was agreed upon to compensate for energy price rises. He said that it was not the actual amount that was troublesome, but the fact that these and similar kinds of concessions would "soften" the budget. He said that privatization has also reached a turning point, and he found it essential to accelerate privatization and to promote ownership changes initiated by enterprise leaders and investors.

Talking about his own situation, Kupa said it was excellent and, in his own way, the prime minister supported his endeavors. The fact that the economic laws continue to "pass through" the government also proves this. Mihaly Kupa acknowledged the fact that there are various schools of thought within the government, but in his opinion, an existing and accepted government program applies to all members of government according to the "good old democratic centralism," and it is not possible to stir constant discussions.

Answering journalists' questions, Kupa said he was not a top minister because our Constitution did not define such a position. He intends to be a candidate for the Assembly because he needs this kind of background in a coalition government and, apart from that, he would like to compete for "free market conditions" in the villages. He continues not to yield to political pressure, and he stated that the budget could "only be touched over his dead body." Answering a NEPSZABADSAG reporter who asked him why he yielded on the issues of compensation and the world Expo in opposition to his own program, he said he was a long-term player. He is not sure that compensation will be implemented exactly the way it stands now, because even a referendum is possible if the required number of signatures are collected. A big battle is still to come on the world Expo issue.

Finance Ministry Details Budget Deficit

LD1107152491 Budapest MTI in English 1301 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—At the end of June, 1991, Hungary's budget showed a 51.3 billion-forint deficit, the Ministry of Finance announced here today.

In the Ministry's assessment, although the size of the deficit is slightly in excess of the forecast agreed upon earlier with the IMF, it does not in itself threaten the final, end-of-year outcome of the budget.

The main reasons for the size of the deficit are the effects of the slow-down and fall-back in certain positive processes in the economy, and the fact that lower incomes have not been offset by savings in expenditures.

In the first six months of the year, the Hungarian state budget had a total income of 349.7 billion million forints, 45.3 percent of the plan for the whole year. Total expenditures stood at 401 billion forints, 47.1 percent of the amount stipulated in the budget.

As a consequence of a drop in consumption, consumption-related tax incomes brought in 44.7 percent of the 311.5 billion forints projected for this year. This could mean a loss in income of 5-6 billion forints by the end of the year.

By the end of the six-month period, tax and levies from the population had brought in 45.6 percent of the 311.5 billion-forint total forecast for the whole of the year.

Budget incomes from financial institutions accounted for 28.361 billion forints, 53.5 percent of the amount envisaged for the entire year.

State subsidies to companies cost the budget 30.5 billion forints—46.1 percent of the plan for the twelve-month period—though the growth in certain export subsidies was compensated for by the collapse of eastern European exports.

Consumer price support allocated in the first six months amounted to 27.148 billion forints, 86.7 percent of the annual target, and could mean an additional expenditure to the budget of 7 billion forints over the 31.3 billion forints planned for the whole year.

Of the 110.1 billion forints earmarked for debt servicing and interest payments for the year, only 42.4 percent was needed by the end of June: the budget took out less credit and at a later date from the central bank than originally planned.

The budget deficit was financed with a central bank credit of 35 billion forints from the 60 billion-forint credit line laid down in the budget.

The stock of treasury bills grew by 9.8 billion forints.

The remainder of the deficit was covered by drawing on the revolving state fund created by a 40 billion-forint credit from the central bank at the beginning of the year.

SZDSZ Chairman Comments on Party's Program

AU1507121191 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Jul 91 p 8

[Interview with SZDSZ Chairman Janos Kis by Istvan Boros and Laszlo Nagy Csaszar; place and date not given: "Liberal Solution—The Key Is Not in Our Hand—Theses on Overcoming Inflation, Quick Privatization, Halting Unemployment, Etc"—first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] was practically the only political organization that came up with a detailed and scientific economic and social program prior to the free elections. After the elections, the winners—the parties participating in the government coalition—drew up their concepts in the government program, namely the program of national revival. At the time, the opposition strongly criticized this program and promised to work out its own concepts soon. The SZDSZ has now fulfilled this promise. The theses of its program for economic crisis management entitled "The Liberal Solution" sum up their concepts in 142 articles in a 38-page document. Our correspondents asked Janos Kis about these theses and the subsequent political steps. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] The first sentence of your collection of theses is the following: "The Hungarian economy is currently in a serious crisis." In your view, is the Hungarian economy really in a crisis, or can one already see the end of the tunnel?

[Kis] A long time ago, when this slogan concerning the end of the tunnel was first mentioned, a deputy chairman of the former Planning Office said that we could see the end of the tunnel, but we could also see a train coming toward us in the tunnel. I think that the decisive change has not yet occurred. Government economists say that we have succeeded in controlling the inflation rate. If we compare this year's rate of inflation with the official and unofficial forecasts, the inflation rate seems to be favorable. However, one should also be aware that nothing has changed compared to any year of the previous decade: Last year's inflation is the bottom line of this year's price increases.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] The governing parties have an interest in saying that there is no crisis, while the opposition has an interest in making the people aware of the crisis.

[Kis] There is a crisis, and it will continue if the government refuses to face up to it. Overwhelming uncertainty is perhaps the major effect of this crisis: Workers do not know when they will lose their jobs, and entrepreneurs and investors are unable to calculate with predictable market statistics and stable tax and credit conditions. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] According to a Western newspaper, we are facing the danger of Balkanization if Western aid fails to materialize.

[Kis] I think Hungary does not necessarily need a flow of cash here, or at least not government credits by all means. Hungary mainly needs economic stability and the creation of conditions that are predictable for all, including curbing the rising rate of inflation. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] For whom did you prepare this collection of theses?

[Kis] First, for ourselves, the SZDSZ. Its main goal is to provide a standard and to enable us to see clearly what we should criticize in the current government policy and what the source of our dissatisfaction is. In addition, the theses were prepared for a broader circle of people interested in such issues, in order to show them that there is no need for the increasing apathy and resignation, and there is a way of handling and solving this economic crisis.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Previously, the opposition criticized the renewal program of the government coalition. Do you not think that the parties in the government coalition will now criticize your theses as superficial?

[Kis] There is a more than 300-page professional document behind these theses. After debating these theses within the party, we will conclude all the work and publish the entire text sometime in the fall.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] In your view, is your liberal solution suitable in case you were asked to form a government?

[Kis] I think this program is good enough to enable us to hold negotiations on forming a government, and we would know what conditions to require for joining the government.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Are you ready to shift from an opposition role to a governing party role overnight?

[Kis] Yes, inasmuch as this is possible in Hungary at all. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Does the SZDSZ have a shadow cabinet? Do you have people capable of implementing this collection of theses overnight?

[Kis] I think that we have enough professional politicians to be seriously considered during coalition talks.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Who are they?

[Kis] I think it is too early to talk about this.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Would you accept a minority government?

[Kis] I do not think that the current opposition should replace the current government coalition. I think that part of the current opposition could join the government. For example, I can imagine a government with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] on one side, and the liberal parties on the other. I can also imagine a minority government formed by a part of the current coalition, without the participation of the Smallholders' Party, by signing an agreement with the opposition or part of the opposition on major issues. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What are the weak and strong points of your program?

[Kis] As for its strong points, I think it is clear and consistent and represents a well-defined concept in all areas. [passage omitted]

The weak points of our program are obviously connected with the fact that this is not a government program because there is no government behind it. Of course, this is clear from our inability to prepare deadlines and a program containing forecasts. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ Foresees Further Economic Decline

LD1207214791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] predicts that the social situation in Hungary will further deteriorate in the near future. Laszlo Gardai reports on the regular weekly news briefing held by the SZDSZ:

[Gardai] The laws affecting self-governments disrobe and leave bare those bodies. To aggravate the situation, according to the calculations of the Finance Ministry, a 94 billion forint budget deficit should be expected next year. This is how Party Chairman Janos Kis described the situation at the news conference.

The outlays stemming from the water barrage, the world exhibition, the Compensation Law, and the return of church real estate do not figure in this sum. According to Janos Kis, it follows from this that the social situation will be even graver; there will not be money for schools, old people's homes, public utility works or aid. Thus, the country will split into two, the poor and the rich.

At the Free Democrats' news conference, the situation in Yugoslavia was also mentioned. The SZDSZ, like the government, is of the view that the situation must be resolved through peaceful means, via negotiations between the member countries [as heard]. At the same time, they consider the statement made by the prime minister in the company of Italian President Cossiga to be unfortunate. According to Janos Kis, the statement that it was not Serbia with which the Trianon, or Paris, Peace Treaty was concluded can give cause for misunderstanding, and this must be avoided.

In conclusion, another remark in connection with domestic politics: Janos Kis did not understand the initiative of the president, who wishes to appoint three vice-presidents each to radio and television. As he said, leaders without profesional jurisdiction would deal with political oversight, and such oversight in public service radio and television, after the party-state period, is not necessary.

Trade Union Leaders Discuss Law on Assets

LD1307164691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0445 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Excerpts] In the Assembly yesterday, the deputies decided on the separation of state and trade union assets and the establishment of financial conditions guaranteeing the free organization of trade unions. Every registered trade union is obliged to account for its own assets, which will then be distributed among the various interested organizations after trade union elections and according to the voting results.

Laszlo Sandor, vice chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ], and (Imre Palkovics), one of the leaders of the National Alliance of Workers' Councils, gave their views on this issue:

[Begin recording] [(Palkovics)] It has to be stated that the change of regime, unfortunately, did not take place at the workplace. As we have already said several times, nothing happened. Therefore, these laws are aimed at providing a framework so that employees can make use of their rights as guaranteed by law, for previous conditions were not suitable for people to make use of the laws that were introduced in 1989. I am thinking of the law on association. There were no provisions built into the law that would guarantee its enforcement and that would prevent people from impeding the right of association.

First, one can speak of the enterprise leaders—this is what our experience shows. However, it was not unusual for the MSZOSZ, or other trade unions belonging earlier to the SZOT [forerunner of MSZOSZ], to try by any means to prevent new organizations from being created at the workplace, whether they were new trade unions or workers' councils.

[Sandor] I absolutely agree with (Imre Palkovics) that today, at the workplace, the establishment of strong interest protection organizations for employees is not looked upon favorably. The difference is that he thinks that this discrimination at the workplace affects exclusively the workers' councils and the organizations of the League Of Independent Trade Unions. However, I say that there is a general difficulty, and in times like this, well, most employers do not like it if the trade unions become stronger.

However, I would like (Imre Palkovics) to explain one thing for me: the one-time SZOT,which had 4.3 million members, became the MSZOSZ numbering 2.7 million members. So, were the 1.6 million people who chose new organizations for themselves not restricted by the liberating rights of association?

[(Palkovics)] I am afraid that the 1.6 million people you are referring to did not join another trade union. [passage omitted] However, as long as people cannot feel safe at the workplace and they want different things than the leaders of the enterprise or the old trade union leaders, one cannot talk about equality of opportunity. I think this justifies our steps prior to the legislation.

[Sandor] The situation is now that there is a minority of 5 percent, but this 5 percent asserts the right for itself to say which is or is not the right trade union. [passage omitted] I think that all this reflects clearly what is written in this law; the authorities were partners to two organizations that, by way of natural development and genuine interest protection, could not produce any real results in the past years.

The rivals—and everybody considers the branch organizations belonging to the MSZOSZ as the enemy—were politically attacked, and the authorities tried to limit its financial base by discriminately taxing trade union contributions. Today we have arrived to the situation where, because this organization can represent a serious force and such a force is not terribly desirable in this country, even the legislative wants to limit its powers. I think that the cloven foot is all too visible. The two organizations, which displayed such loyal behavior toward the government during the June actions by the interest groups, now seem to be given some sort of political reward with this law.

[(Palkovics)] I think that the trade unions made use of democratic means by turning to the democratically-elected legislature. The legislature merely made use of its right ensured by the Constitution when it adopted these laws. It is possible that this is difficult for the MSZOSZ to accept, as it is not the sole owner of the assets that are the assets of all the Hungarian employees, and that other organizations that separated from the MSZOSZ will also have a share in them. However, I think this is by no means the force of the minority over a majority. [end recording]

MSZOSZ Leader Comments

LD1307195991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] This week the Assembly passed a law that requires every registered interest representation organization and trade union to give an account of its assets. These assets will be distributed after the trade union elections, depending on the number of votes. The largest interest protection organization, the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ], could not protect its assets. Ernoe Kardos interviewed Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the MSZOSZ:

[Begin recording] [Kardos] I did not really understand the sentence in your letter addressed to the prime minster, in which you say that the legislature wants to interfere with the life of the trade unions. If I am not mistaken, the trade union leaders will decide on the distribution of trade union assets at a later election.

[Nagy] First of all, there are two laws. One says that a statement will have to be made within 30 days on whether the trade union membership fee can be deducted. This is a decision in itself because an individual can choose the trade union to which he wants his membership fee to be transferred. Then the law mentions some unspecified election among the trade unions to take place within a year. The only aim of all this is that the trade unions could be occupied by their own internal organizational problems and become weaker. I believe this is the essence of the issue. Therefore, I consider it real interference not only because of what I have just said, but because this violates valid international agreements, the Hungarian constitution, and valid Hungarian laws. By the way, this can be seen from the protest of several international organizations that know the text of the law.

[Kardos] Some say that the MSZOSZ made a tactical mistake when a month ago it started to threaten the government with a strike. The fact that the trade union monopoly is being done away with is, in fact, the result of this threatened strike.

[Nagy] Unfortunately, this may well be the case. In fact, I am certain that, in a way, this is revenge for that warning strike. I do not agree that we made any kind of mistake, except that we did not take into consideration the fact that in a legal state the staging of a lawful action can be followed by retaliations. We did not organize the strike to divert attention from other issues, but because we wanted to signal that the insensitivity of the legislature and the government toward the problems of the employees cannot continue. We did not take into consideration the possibility that we would receive such a

snappy answer and that they would limit our operation, our assets and our money management, or that they will specify when we can hold elections and when the membership has to be renewed.

[Kardos] Certain political observers say that the legislature passed this law at the last moment because MSZOSZ could easily have threatened the government with a great strike when unemployment grows in the fall.

[Nagy] If either the government or the legislature believes that by exerting pressure on us they will make it impossible for us to exercise real interest protection, they are wrong. If employee disappointment reaches a level that makes it necessary to use some means of pressure to assert employee interests, then the MSZOSZ will make use of these tools, regardless of the fact that there is an Assembly law. [end recording]

Officials Discuss Gabcikovo, Energy Plans

AU1507082491 Budapest MTI in English 1853 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, 11 July (MTI)—The second round of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak talks concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro-electric dam project will be held in Bratislava on Monday, July 15, with the two government commissioners and several ministers in attendance, Laszlo Balazs, Hungarian Government spokesman, announced in parliament building on July 11.

Arpad Bakay, deputy secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry, who will also be attending the discussions, told journalists that the Hungarian negotiating group would travel to Bratislava with a new proposal. Accordingly, should the Slovak partner renounce its plan of completing or setting the power station to work, the Hungarian energy industry would agree to launch a 250 MW gas-turbine energy system in Slovakia by way of compensation.

The deputy secretary of state said that the government had adopted the new energy policy concept of the Ministry of Industry on July 10. The aim of the concept is to abolish the country's energy dependence, diversify energy imports, reduce the specific use of energy, and carry out a flexible power station construction scheme.

Diversification of the sources of imported energy is important, given that 70 percent of the country's energy requirement is covered by imports. In the event of oil, the Adriatic pipeline has solved this problem. Electricity purchases will be facilitated by the transmission line presently being constructed between Austria and Hungary, which is expected to begin operation early next year. Although natural gas imports are still marked by Soviet dominance, talks are already under way with the World Bank and the Pentagonale countries about the constructton of a pipeline which would carry Algerian gas via Italy and Yugoslavia to Hungary and further to the North. A safety gas pipeline may also be completed between Gyor and Baumgarten, Austria, within a year, Arpad Bakay said.

Answering a question, Balazs Laszlo said that the prime minister requested the ministers in charge of the economic portfolios to increase the pace of work on the uniform system of foreign trade data supply by the ministry, the financial sphere, and the statistical office.

FKgP Leadership To Observe Coalition Agreements

LD1307210791 Budapest MTI in English 1905 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (MTI)—The new leadership of the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) [FKgP] will observe the coalition agreements, ISP President Jozsef Torgyan told a rally in Kisvarda on July 13.

Torgyan said that the ISP had gained in prestige over the recent period: several MPs [members of parliament] of both the governing and the opposition parties have indicated that they are planning to join the Smallholders. [Emese Ugrin, a prominent representative of the Christian Democratic People's Party, announced on July 12 that she would go over to the ISP—MTI]

Torgyan announced that the ISP was planning to set up an agrobank to support farmers. Fifty-one per cent of the starting capital will be held by the Smallholders, 25 per cent by Western entrepreneurs, and 24 per cent by Soviet banks, he said.

The ISP president emphasized the need of maintaining mutually beneficial economic relations with the Soviet Union, which would remain the main export outlet of Hungarian food for a long time.

Fur Presents Warsaw Treaty Bill to Assembly

LD1107135491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1123 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Speech by Defense Minister Lajos Fur to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, my fellow MPs! In the absence of the prime minister, I have been honored with the task of presenting for confirmation by the National Assembly the protocol on the end of the Warsaw Treaty.

I think it would be a clear loss of proportion if we attributed to Hungary or the Hungarian legislature or government a decisive, determining, role in ending the Warsaw Treaty. We all know that in this termination, contributions of world political factors played decisive and determining roles. These factors, which brought fundamental change in Europe and recorded the influence of world power politics, have had significant consequences.

But it would be equally inappropriate if we did not remember that Hungary indeed played a significant role in the termination of the Treaty. As we know, soon after the signing of the Treaty, barely a year after, in the heated days of 1956, Hungary was the first to declare its unilateral decision to leave the Warsaw Pact. The opposition forces of Hungary, the forces in opposition to the party-state, beginning in the middle 1980's, in their frequently espoused programs and ideas, declared aloud that the obsolete, out-of-date Warsaw Treaty must be terminated, that Hungary must leave the Warsaw Treaty. This opposition idea was voiced here, in the Assembly, during one of the first sessions, when my fellow MP, Miklos Vasarhelyi, of the Alliance of Free Democrats, presented to the Assembly the proposal that Hungary should abandon the Warsaw Treaty on a negotiated basis. We all know that this proposal had the undivided support of the House, and that this proposal gave special powers to the government to represent their original ideas at every platform where the question was raised. The legislative decision supported the government when, for the first time last June, at the session of the Warsaw Treaty political organization, it was announced that Hungary wanted to leave the Warsaw Treaty on a negotiated basis. What had been a shocking fact for many, occasionally even for world political leaders, became a reality this year, first on 25 February in Budapest and then on 1 July in Prague.

In February in Budapest, we signed the agreement on the Warsaw Treaty military organization, and in Prague we signed the protocol on the end of the political organization.

What were the contributing factors? Obviously, only history will fully reveal them. Posterity will judge and evaluate the Warsaw Treaty.

I feel, however, that I have the obligation, here, to highlight three things. One is that a military and political organization encompassing a continent ceased to exist without the sound of a single gunshot, in a way in which those within it and those opposing it were able, peacefully, to assent to the cessation of this organization.

Thanks are due for all this to all the former member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, because they, with such good intentions and having recognized the historic situation, assented to the dissolution of the organization amid customary diplomatic frameworks that were very peaceful, natural, and decent. However, thanks are also due to the Assembly, to all of the deputies of the parties that sit in the legislature, and to the parties themselves, who all agreed. At the times of opposition, of pro-government feelings, and of renewed opposition, they agreed that the Warsaw Treaty had indeed become obsolete and that Hungary must leave it through negotiations; more precisely, we must achieve a cessation of the Warsaw Treaty.

Last but not least, thanks and respect are due to all of the citizens of the country because they were able to make this difficult journey in a disciplined manner, preserving its citizens' dignity. The government knew that it always could rely on the full agreement of the entire Assembly and the entire nation. To work with such strength, with such a background, is really not difficult in significant, decisive foreign policy issues.

If the affair has a lesson for the future, it is that we should try to maintain this consensus, this agreement, in every important, delicate foreign and domestic political issue. Without this we shall have difficulty accomplishing the tasks ahead of us. We shall have particular difficulty creating the necessary peace and reconciliation in the region, without which there will be no real calm and no real reconciliation, here or in Europe.

Esteemed house, today we often give voice to an ancient European farewell; pax vobis. We said this for weeks, in another context, when Soviet troops left Hungary. Peace be with you, we now can say, by way of farewell to the Warsaw Treaty, since we have delivered this treaty and its entire system over to time; we have handed it over to history.

History, however, our noted historians say, is not a void of decay. What has passed by does not fall into a void, but it shapes the fate of what follows. It lives in us and nurtures passions.

The legacy of the Warsaw Treaty is with us. It lives in us now. It has not passed by without leaving a trace. For this reason, it is all the more our obligation to take care that the other aspect of the old greeting, peace be with you, is increasingly asserted—namely, the contents of the wish. Namely, that there should be peace with them, there should be peace with us—with all those who once were members of the Warsaw Treaty. In the spirit of these thoughts, I ask the House to please vote for the motion.

Walesa Says EC Membership Top Priority

LD1207090391 Berlin ADN in German 0508 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Western aid for the USSR should serve to help cooperation between Moscow and the reform states of Central and Eastern Europe. Poland's President Lech Walesa stated this in an interview with ADN's EC correspondent in the lead-up to the London world economic summit. Walesa explained that the collapse of trade with the Soviet Union, which happened within a few months, has meant that his country is facing problems. Therefore the announced EC aid for Moscow should "be directed to those areas that are aimed at cooperation with neighbors." Thanks to the connections with the EC, Poland will improve the standard of its products and adapt the quality of the products to suit the West. The revival of trade can for example arise as a result of the proposal raised at the community of twelve to grant the USSR part of the aid in zloties.

Walesa favors close economic relations between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary and suggested that the EC should act as a sort of sponsor to those countries which formed the CEMA. The three most highly-developed countries of the former communist states have the chance to leap into the European Community the quickest.

At present, nothing is more important for Poland than membership in the EC. The aspired to treaty of association is to lay down a program of future steps which his country has to undertake before being accepted as a full member. "We know that this will not happen quickly but we want to know the time frame in which we can achieve this goal," the president said. He linked criticism of the EC import barriers, which still apply, to the urgent warning of a failure of the reform processes in Central and Eastern Europe. Uncontrollable social reactions will then threaten to explode.

Walesa said that the way to modern Europe is also via Germany. Poland needs aid and seeks it above all from its closest neighbors. The fact that the heads of government, Kohl and Bielecki, signed the treaty on good neighborliness is a "great step on the way to mutual understanding." It can now be fulfilled by concrete initiatives.

No Agreement Reached on Controversial EC Issues

LD1207105991 Warsaw PAP in English 2157 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Brussels, July 11—The sixth round of negotiations between Poland and the EC on association has not brought any closer their stands on trade in agricultural products and textiles, access to the market of services and financial cooperation.

At the end of four-day talks on Thursday the Polish side presented detailed draft solutions concerning all controversial issues. Polish chief negotiatior Jaroslaw Mulewicz said that it was Poland's final offer, this meaning that it is necessary at the moment for the Ministerial Council of the Twelve, scheduled to meet at a session on July 29, to make political decisions to overcome an impasse in negotiations.

The Polish side meets the greatest difficulties in discussing the issue of opening of the EC market to Polish agricultural products. The EC commission informed the Poles today on its new compromise-oriented proposals in this respect but they still fall short of Polish expectations and are unofficial.

As concerns services, some progress has been achieved but the EC refuses to create formal and legal conditions under which Poland might render transport and construction services on the EC territory. There are not many fields in which Polih firms could be competetive to local ones, and transport and construction are such fields.

Also, the EC has not agreed to enclose protocols on financial aid with the future agreement. Poland expects the organisation to financially support its modernisation of roads and telecommunications, introduction of the convertibility of the Polish zloty and keeping the balance of payments.

EC Talks End in 'Convergence of Attitudes'

LD1207222291 Warsaw PAP in English 1253 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Brussels, July 12—The sixth round of the negotiations with Poland over the treaty on EC associate status have led to a "wide-ranging convergence of attitudes" towards the general principles of a future agreement, the Commission of the European Communities announced on Friday.

The round ended on Thursday, with important discussions on issues such as protectionism, the balance of payments, dumping, competition policy and the consumer market. Progress was also made in the areas of intellectual property and services.

The commission acknowledged, however, that the two sides continued to differ over EC concessions to Poland in the agricultural and textile sectors, and over proposals for financial cooperation.

The communique added that Poland had made known its disappointment over the continuing differences, and expressed the hope that the EC would offer decisive support for the Polish reform process.

A further meeting of negotiators from the two sides is planned for the second half of September. Observers believe that political decisions by the Council of Ministers of the "Twelve" will be necessary if the impasse is to be broken in the areas under dispute.

President Walesa Urges Western Cooperation

LD1007184791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Today, President Lech Walesa received a delegation from the Australian Parliament. During his conversation with the guests the president assessed the current situation in the country and the forthcoming general elections. He said: I believe that if my idea of the electoral law succeeds, it would be easier to govern the state. Of course if my idea fails, as president I must have alternative solutions. In reply to a question on whether he feels disappointed over Western assistance to Poland so far, Lech Walesa said: We do not want assistance, we want cooperation and equal chances. The president emphasized that since the Polish market has been opened to Western goods, our exports are still meeting various barriers.

Bielecki Speaks on Elections, Talks With USSR

LD1307193491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] In the afternoon, Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki met representatives of his own party, the Liberal-Democratic Congress of Western Pomerania. Referring to the election campaign, the prime minister stated that the situation will become more aggravated and there will be an uncompromising struggle. As the congress enters the elections, it understands the differnces of opinions, but being attached to the liberal traditions, it distances itself from pre-election arguments and feuds.

During a news conference which concluded his visit to Szczecin, Prime Minister Bielecki stated that there will be no [word indistinct] Poland without a healthy economy.

Speaking about the cooperation with the Soviet Union, the prime minister stressed that the government is making efforts to arrange those relations in the best possible manner. He also indicated the significance of favorable development of contacts with the Germans in the border zones.

The subjects of the news conference included activities of the Liberal-Democratic Congress, restructuring in industry, aid for enterprises, and unemployment.

UD's Mazowiecki Views Election Issues

LD1107221991 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] [Announcer] The position of the Democratic Union [UD] on a Sejm and Senate election coalition was stated today at a press conference held by the union's chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] The Liberal Democratic Congress, making the decision to take part independently in the Sejm elections, has proposed talks on coalition participation in the Senate elections. The Presidium of the UD has expressed readiness to enter into talks with the Liberal Democratic Congress on this issue.

At the same time, the UD Presidium appeals to the union's regional authorities to take a stand on the issue of the need and possibility of forming coalition support by the Solidarity milieu for candidates to the Senate for their area. We think that such cooperation is possible. However, we also think that all talks with any other forces would have to concern—while undertaking possible cooperation in the senate elections—there being no radical contradictions between this cooperation and the campaign carried on for the Sejm elections. [sentence as heard]. [end recording]

[Announcer] The UD has nothing in common with the post-communist forces and it regards every such statement as an innuendo: that was one of the threads of the above-mentioned press conference, PAP writes in its report.

Civic Committees Call For Electoral Pact

LD1407210291 Warsaw PAP in English 1932 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—In Warsaw on Sunday, the National Conference of Civic Committees approved a decision to seek an agreement which would bring together pro-Solidarity, Roman Catholic and nationalist political forces under a common electoral programme.

Zdzislaw Najder, leader of the National Conference, told delegates that agreement on a common electoral programme with other groupings was to be preferred to formal electoral coalitions. Deputy leader Jan Olszewski felt that this was an essential move to avoid the difficulties created by the terms of the electoral ordinance signed by President Walesa on July 1.

Olszewski explained that national and local civic committees would be created by groups of individuals, but the composition of the committees would be determined by the real partners of this informal coalition. He called for an agreement on an electoral programme which would create in effect a coalition of pro-Solidarity and pro-independence forces, "which can, ought and must secure victory for us, which must secure a victory for Poland."

Jaroslaw Kaczynski, chairman of the Centre Alliance (PC), stressed that such an agreement should be simply a technical mechanism which should neither obscure, nor set aside, the existing system of political parties. He opposed alliances with extremist groups, and called for agreement with "sensible" pro-independence and democratic forces.

Kaczynski said that the political divisions in Poland were clear to see. On the one hand, there were those—the post-communist parties, Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Democratic Union, and the Liberals—who believed that the

new Poland could be built "using the foundations of (the) decomposed Communist (system)," and those who believed that Poland could not avoid rebuilding from the very foundations. "Society must be made aware of this political division during the election campaign," he said.

Antoni Macierewicz, deputy chairman of the Christian-National Union (ZCH-N), said that "we should all unite to make sure that these elections mark the beginning of the era of an independent Poland." He objected that many of the groups which fought hardest for Poland's independence are now being castigated as "extreme."

Solidarity Candidates To Run in Elections

LD1207105391 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Gdansk, July 11—Solidarity will take part in parliamentary elections with at least 69 candidates, it was decided at a meeting of the union's national commission here on Thursday. Assessing Solidarity's electoral chances, members of the commission stressed that at the moment the situation was more difficult for the union than five months ago—during its congress. With public opinion polls pointing to a fall in social support, one has to realise that the union may lose elections in some regions.

During the discussion participants in the meeting also spoke about social distrust towards political parties having no clear programmes. In this connection they mentioned the topicality of Solidarity's message to Polish society. However, some discussants voiced doubts concerning the union's participation in elections as they feared that it would divide Solidarity over individual political options and rivalry between members for deputies' mandates.

Zdzislaw Malinowski of Wloclawek, central Poland, expressed the opinion that the union will cease to exist after elections, having no money and losing its unity. "First of all, the left will fight with the right in these elections. Would we not rather support those who give Poland the greatest chance so that an option ensuring stabilisation to the country might win?" he asked.

Spokesman Denies Troop Withdrawal Date Fixed

LD1207220691 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—Spokesman for the Polish Foreign Minister Grzegorz Dziemidowicz denied on Friday Valentin Falin's statement to the effect that the date of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland had been fixed during Wednesday's negotiations between both sides.

Falin, secretary of the Central Committee and head of the International Department of the CPSU, told a press conference in Warsaw earlier in the day that the sides had reached an agreement on the date of withdrawal, to be disclosed to the press by the Polish Foreign Ministry, and were still negotiating financial issues.

In reference to the issue of security on the European continent he said: "If we are moving towards a European system of collective security, the status of the security of each member of this system should guarantee the security of all. If we embark upon the road of the liquidation of all arsenals under tight mutual control, we will solve this problem together for all the states."

The official stated that for the Soviet Union Poland will never be part of a bargain in talks with any country. Speaking about the so-called Falin Doctrine, he said: "We cannot forget that we are neighbours and we should not treat our relations emotionally but on the basis of a fundamental plan. At a session of the CPSU Secretariat on relations with the countries of Eastern Europe it had been remarked that changes in those countries do not mean the end of the world."

In this connection Falin mentioned various links between the countries concerned, including economic ones, and added that it is necessary not to assume a pose pretending that neighbours have ceased to exist. He also spoke about friendly contacts between the CPSU and the Social-Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland (SDRP—former Communist Party), based on the principle of sovereignty.

He stressed that the Soviet state does not make any obstacles for both Poles and people coming from other countries and living in the USSR to return to their homeland.

The official also informed newsmen that President Lech Walesa accepted an invitation sent by President Mikhail Gorbachev to visit the USSR, his visit being expected to be official and end in concrete results.

Falin, on a visit to Poland between July 11 and 14 at the invitation from the SDRP, has already met with Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Chairman of the Democratic Union and former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chairman of the Democratic Left Caucus in the Polish Parliament Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz.

Minister Supports USSR Military Training

LD1207153891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Address by National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk to the graduating class of the National Defense Academy in Rembertow on 12 July—recorded]

[Text] The course has prepared you for the role of commanding officers, the commanding officers and the teachers. You should not only command but also lead. You also must be able to defend moral reasons, both

yours and your soldiers. That will allow you to participate in creating the foundations of Poland's defense to the 21st Century standards. Esteemed gathering, I am glad that among the Academy graduates there are Soviet, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian army officers. The Polish Army, as the entire country, has been open to wide contacts with close and more distant neighbors. We would like to continue to expand them. This year, Polish officers began their studies at military colleges in Western Europe and the United States. I feel that they also should continue to study in military academies of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. These contacts are conducive to better understanding between people and to them getting closer together. In consequence, they consolidate the feeling of security and contribute to preserving peace. I would like to convey words of recognition to National Defense Academy commanding staff, scientific council, and to the entire staff. I would like to congratulate officers and graduates and to wish them every success in the difficult work for the defense of our fatherland. I wish them and their loves ones every happiness in private life.

Police Protest Appointment of New Commander

LD1207112191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1100 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Protest action by the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Police began at noon. The union protests acceptance of Deputy Inspector Roman Hula for the post of police commander in chief. The police trade unionists believe that the resignation of the previous commander, Leszek Lamparski, was forced by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They do not agree with a statement by Minister Majewski on the illegality of their action, claiming that the law on trade unions and the statute of their union gives them such rights.

Reform, Democracy Charter Adopted by Parties

AU1107171691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1618 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/7/1991—The Charter for Reform and Democracy initiated by the National Salvation Front [FSN], the Ecologist Movement of Romania, the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania and the Liberal Party-Young Wing was signed on July 11, 1991.

The Charter was adopted after the talks the National Salvation Front had conducted with the opposition parties represented to the parliament in order to responsibly and constructively involve in governing all the political forces speaking up for reform and democracy.

The consultations held in the last few weeks were attended by the leaders of the aforementioned political parties.

The Charter for Reform and Democracy, the document shows inter alia, makes up the political framework for association in government at a national and local level with a view to carrying out reform and democracy through the responsible and constructive participation of the signatory parties that show mutual respect in decision making as well as through periodical consultations and appraisals.

The parties signatory to the Charter for Reform and Democracy are for the consolidation of democratic institutions apt to guarantee foremost human rights.

They militate against any extremist, communist or fascist manifestation, against chauvinism, ethnic, religious, cultural or social hatemongering.

The parties signatory to the Charter support the economic reform programme which was integrally and unanimously approved by Romania's Parliament, and contribute specific programmes to a faster transition to the market economy with minimal social and economic costs.

The parties signatory to the Charter shall establish permanent communication with home and foreign public opinion so as to create a favourable attitude of backing the reform in this country.

The parties signatory to the Charter for Reform and Democracy keep their own political and organizational identity as well as unrestricted right to political initiative.

The Charter for Reform and Democracy remains open to any other subsequent adherence that will get the consent of the Charter's initiators.

The signing of the Charter was attended by heads of diplomatic missions and other members of the diplomatic corps in Bucharest.

Roman Comments on Charter

AU1207184291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 12 Jul 91

["Political Life: The Charter for Reform and Democracy—a Basis for a Coalition Government"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/7/1991—"The Charter makes a basis for a coalition government," said Petre Roman, national leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN], in a news conference on July 11 after the signing of the Charter for Reform and Democracy. "It manages to harmonize the interests of every political formation toward a new and viable government formula. The parties signatories to the Charter stated their adhesion to the principles of the document, without having thus their identity altered in any way. The Charter is naturally a basis for a government form of coalition, not of national unity, for we might be considered too ambitious, too conceited, it would mean to ignore other political formations that, they too, want national unity and nobody can deny this."

The FSN national leader did not rule out the achievement of a joint platform with the parties signatory to the Charter for the future local elections. Petre Roman said that although not announced yet technically, meaning the date, the local elections depended on two documents now being drafted: The local election bill and the local administration bill. He estimated that those elections could be held next autumn.

Another problem that stirred the journalists' interest was the stand of the other opposition political parties, especially those included in the Convention for Democracy, that did not adhere to the principles of the Charter.

Referring especially to that matter and to the negotiations generally, the FSN leader Petre Roman said: "No doubt, all of us have made concessions in order to achieve the document signed today. For the time being, the Charter is not approved by the other parties of the Convention for Democracy, but it is not unlikely that the dynamics of this document, that cannot be neglected, should convince them both of our honesty and of the necessity to sign it. We have repeatedly discussed with the leaders of the convention parties. It is clear why a common stand has not been reached: As a preliminary to any understanding they demanded a green-table cancellation of the May 20, 1990 election returns, which is unacceptable for a party that respects itself and that considers it won the elections in a democratic manner."

A few questions referred to the relations of the FSN and the other signatory parties with the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] and the Socialist Party of Labour.

"The PUNR wanted to assume a role that does not represent a political trend in our country. We are not allowed to say that some are more Romanian than others. We are all Romanians to the same extent, except

that some, by their deeds, prove it more. As for the Socialist Party of Labour, it has not proved so far it is devoted to the cause of democracy. For the time being it remains attached to a communist, strict, rigid ideology. We are not interested in such an orientation. It means looking back, a nostalgia for what the communist regime meant in Romania," Petre Roman stated.

The National Salvation Front leader also referred to the role a strong opposition would have to play in a democratic society: "If the opposition is weak," the FSN leader said, "we must wonder who makes it so." Stressing that the FSN was accused of having stifled that opposition, Petre Roman opined that the opposition that finds out it is weak must find resources for revigoration by itself.

Answering journalists' questions, the representatives of the three formations stressed that the signing of the Charter did not entail abandoning the opposition.

Press Reaction Reported

AU1307143791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1214 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/7/1991—The Bucharest newspapers run various commentaries on the Charter for Reform and Democracy which was signed on Thursday [11 July] by the leaders of the ruling National Salvation Front and three opposition parties represented to Parliament—the National Liberal Party-the Young Wing, the Agrarian Democratic Party and the Romanian Ecology Movement—with a view to forming a coalition government.

"ADEVARUL" (an independent newspaper): The mirage of a coalition government now has a charter.

"VIITORUL ROMANESC" (biased to the National Liberal Party-the Young Wing): an historic event.

"AZI" (the mouthpiece of the National Salvation Front): Signing (the Charter) were the realistic forces of the nation, the parties that are politically aware of the fact that national interests have priority.

"TINERETUL LIBER" (an independent newspaper): If the targets of the alliance materialize the partners will gain a substantial political capital. Furthermore, the new understanding, which was concluded at the end of several rounds of negotiations, seems durable. Future government will certainly be less a matter of change in programme and more a matter of distribution of heroes.

"REALITATEA" (a pro-trade union newspaper): an attempt to gain political stability and even a tendency towards national reconciliation. The aim? Only one. The attainment of social peace to favor reform in the country and the replacement of old structures.

"DIMINEATA" (a newspaper which is considered pro-presidential): This is how the motto under which the Civic Alliance exists—in the form of an aspiration for the time being—turns into reality where you do not expect it to, that is on the level of the much contested National Salvation Front leadership.

"DREPTATEA" (a rostrum of fight against communism, mouthpiece of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party): The "pact of government armchairs" was signed (...) as the respective charter was worded in the usual tone of the ruling party, ambiguous that is, it was not too clear whether its signing means that the other parties adhere to the reform programme of Roman's Government or its amendment, that is admittance of failure. According to our knowledge about the Roman team we think the first variant is at issue. And the price? A number of minister's armchairs.

"COTIDIANUL" (founded by former presidential candidate, Ion Ratiu): The bulla for political reform (...) a subtle, thin government attempt to have a narrow escape.

"ROMANIA LIBERA" (an independent newspaper): Mr. Petre Roman, a polytechnician by profession and a politician by adoption, suggests an equation to opposition parties in which—with his exception—we have to do with unknown terms...

"LIBERTATEA" (an independent newspaper): It is not accidental that this accord comes at a time when the balance of international interest and support tips to the detriment of the intransigent opposition making room for a realistic approach to the Romanian political arena. Obviously, with the signing of the Charter the signal is also given for violent accusations of "collaborationism" from the intransigent opposition which too often forget that negotiation and compromise should never be absent. From this point of view what happened yesterday could be the beginning of a sinuous, hard road to democracy.

Iliescu Comments on Constitutional Reform, Economy

PM1507095691 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 8 Jul 91 pp 12, 13

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Antunes Ferreira in Lisbon; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ferreira] Romania is said to be a country of disguised communism, but it is also said to be experiencing an important period of rebuilding on the way to democracy. Would you give me your description of present-day Romania?

[Iliescu] A year and a half has passed since the December revolution. I can assure you that this period is a complete history and that Romania's character has changed completely because it really was a very far-reaching revolution—more than all the others that have occurred in the East European countries—since Ceausescu's totalitarian regime was extremely harsh. Therefore, things were not, and have not been, at all easy.

My country's political, economic, social, and moral life was blocked; therefore, the only way to try to change it was that massive explosion on the streets. That is why December 1989 will go down, has gone down, in Romania's history, especially because it gave citizens freedom, the freedom to make choices, to express themselves freely without any coercion.

[Ferreira] So do you mean that the most radical reform took place at the political level?

[Iliescu] In that area, we do indeed have a new situation—a multiparty system. We even seem to have overdone it. We have around 200 parties registered... But learning also has a price, and this is the objective situation. After a period of cruel dictatorship, this is perfectly natural because people have discovered the right to choose.

It could be said that last year's elections...

1990 Elections Were Free

[Ferreira] I was there, as you know; we met there. Do you believe that they were completely free?

[Iliescu] They were absolutely free. It was the first free choice. We now have 14 parties represented in Parliament. Some have only one deputy, but there are five or six that now have them in significant numbers. However, this is not final, since even these parties have been undergoing internal changes; people leaving for other parties, people joining—in short—readjustments. There is even a certain trend for those parties to merge, and this means that the process is taking place.

But I can tell you that following last May's elections, we already have a rule-of-law state in Romania, with elected institutions. Witness the bicameral parliament, with a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. It has constitutional duties.

[Ferreira] So what is happening with the new constitution?

[Iliescu] We will have to have our new constitution, and then new elections, within a year and a half of Parliament's coming into operation. This means that both the members of Parliament's terms and my own are limited—two years at most. However, it also means that we already have the traditional separation of powers—the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The president of the republic is thus the balancing factor between the other powers. That is why I tell you that this period has been really productive (here a smile and the stressing of the word)—really productive.

As far the new constitution is concerned, there is enormous progress. Parliament elected a specialized constitutional committee, comprised of senators, deputies, and experts on constitutional law. The first three months were devoted to gathering all possible reference material internationally—primarily a gigantic task of documentation. Many international experts also assisted in this.

Very Valuable Portuguese Assistance

[Ferreira] Including Portuguese experts?

[Iliescu] Exactly—very important and very valuable contributions, as I discovered. The Portuguese Constitution was even one of the main elements for the committee. In October, there was an international seminar that discussed the most modern trends in constitutional law. On this groundwork, proposals were drawn up for drafting the final text, which includes all the main modern democratic principles. This was published, and in February Parliament began to debate these proposals. The debate ended just two weeks ago.

The draft final text has now been drawn up and has begun to be debated again. We are now in a period of reflection and examination of that text, and the debate on it will resume in September. I believe that will be easier because there was already consensus on the major principles. I believe that the final text should be approved at the end of October, and we even intend to hold a referendum to ensure that the people's endorsement of democracy is an indisputable fact.

[Ferreira] Does this mean that Parliament has been working almost exclusively on the new constitution, or has it done something else?

[Iliescu] Nothing of the kind. As a legislative body, Parliament has produced an enormous number of laws in the meantime. I can state that virtually the whole of our essential legislation has been renewed on completely different foundations from those that previously existed. There were over 100 new laws. A great number of them are connected with the economic reforms.

It Is Difficult To Move to Market Economy

[Ferreira] The market economy is in vogue. Is this what you mean? What about the mass protest on the streets?

[Iliescu] Exactly. And it is an extremely difficult field. If last year was dominated by political confrontation, with quite severe aspects, including protest on the streets, the most important problem now is that of stabilizing economic life for the transition to a market economy.

Here, too, there has been an enormous effort, begun immediately in January of last year. We soon created another parliamentary committee to devise a strategy for moving from the existing centralized economy to a market economy, taking Romania's specific conditions into account. Experts of every kind, from macroeconomists to sectorial economists, turning to foreign experiences again, have been making an exceptional effort.

There is no really valid model for moving from a centralized economy—which was called socialist, although in fact it was not—to a market economy. Six months of work led to the drafting of a Strategy for the Move to a Market Economy.

[Ferreira] So far, you have given me details about work, studies, and the drafting of documents, but the people need to feed and clothe themselves, to consume—in short, to live...

[Iliescu] Well, the government, proceeding from an elected parliament, submitted its government program to the Parliament, and it was approved. It has also worked with enormous effort to give citizens what they seek in order to live. Currently, it is making progress with respect to the privatization of large-scale industry, based on a law approved last August and September to turn state enterprises into commercial companies or autonomous state-owned companies.

A new law on foreign investments has also now been approved in order to promote and encourage them. Moreover, it has been well received.

Another essential law was the land law, whereby the ownership of agricultural land will pass to the farmers; of course, this means private agriculture, with all its consequences. Wages and prices have been largely decontrolled—that is, as far as possible.

Terrible Period to Overcome

[Ferreira] So the Romanian economy was at a crawl...

[Iliescu] It was an economy in crisis. It was and still is. It was a maximalist and primitive economy. This caused and still causes us gigantic problems. This is not a unique case: It existed in all the East European countries, but in the case of Romania, this move from a highly centralized economy, based on an obsolete and outmoded hierarchical pyramid, to a market economy has caused a terrible period.

I would like to state here that your experience in this field, albeit with a different starting point, has been put to very good use in Romania. There were essential differences, because Portugal had other structures before 1974, different from ours before December 1989, but in any event it is a significant and essentially valid example. The move from a dictatorship to a democracy is crucial, and your experience, I repeat, has been crucial for inspiring us.

It Is People Who Suffer Most

[Ferreira] And the social costs of this whole transformation are proving very high for Romania. Or is this not so?

[Iliescu] Of course. It is always primarily the people who suffer most, whether under dictatorships or during transitional periods. But we hope and trust that we will surmount those problems and give Romanian citizens the opportunity for a much better—and free and democratic—life.

[Ferreira] What about the minorities? The Hungarians? What is happening to them? It was in Timisoara that the protests began; it was there, too, that blood began to be shed...

[Iliescu] Following the revolution, we published basic laws to safeguard the minorities' essential rights and freedoms. We started from the principle that in a democracy there is not just the majority's right to make decisions but also respect for those minorities' rights and freedoms—political freedom, confessional or religious freedom, professional freedom, and so forth.

Those principles are even enshrined in the new Constitution—the right to teach the minorities' languages, to publish their own news media, to express themselves freely, and also to act freely in daily life. For instance, all the minorities have representatives in Parliament, even if, mathematically, they would not have achieved this by electoral means. The Hungarian minority, which totals almost 1.8 million, has 29 deputies and 12 senators.

[Ferreira] What about the Jews? Anti-Semitic actions have occurred in Romania, at the same time as manifestations of nationalism or even ultranationalism, such as the tribute in Parliament to Marshal Antonescu, who was so closely linked to Nazism...

[Iliescu] As far as anti-Semitism is concerned, this is another matter. For instance, some anti-Semitic articles have appeared in the press—and we now have it in all qualities, hues, origins and tendencies—but I believe that they do not reflect the Romanian people's thinking.

They are primarily the emanations of a society in deep crisis, as Romanian society is. It is a disease that leads to extremism, but, unfortunately, it is a reality, although on a small scale, and one that I myself have already vigorously criticized. I believe that we will surmount it as soon as possible.

But let me return to the Hungarian minority and its problems. These are mainly sustained by historical causes, as regards relations between Hungary and Romania. Transylvania was dominated for several centuries by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During that time, they were the majority, but since World War I they have been the minority. The problems that still persist today, that do exist—why hide it?—can be understood from the psychological viewpoint. When there is such a change, the former majorities have difficulty in accepting the new majorities, formed from the old minorities.

Romanian-Hungarian Relations

[Ferreira] Do you mean by this that relations between Romania and Hungary are difficult, are even bad?

[Iliescu] No, these are two different problems. That is, with respect to the existence of a Hungarian minority in Hungary, I have already told you that it now has all its rights fully safeguarded. However, when Hungary claims the right to be the champion of that minority existing in Romania, this is an attempt at interference in our internal affairs, such as can happen anywhere else in the world.

We are, therefore, trying to make Hungary understand this and to have good bilateral relations and improve them as much as possible.

[Ferreira] A penultimate question—relations between Portugal and Romania. They used to be better but seem to have come to a standstill or even dwindled. Is this so? Is anything being done to change this?

[Iliescu] This was the primary point of the brief visit by me to Portugal and was the subject of a very frank and open conversation with President Mario Soares, with whom I had already met in Tokyo. We must find ways to develop relations between the two Latin countries that we are—at the extremities of Europe—the most geographically separated Latins. We will do everything possible to develop these relations at the political, economic, scientific, cultural, and social levels. We have the foundations for this, the most important of which is our common Latinism.

We broached this issue, and I believe that President Soares and I reached interesting conclusions. We can understand each other much better.

[Ferreira] Finally, East Timor is a very important matter for Portugal. Does Romania intend to examine it with other eyes and, for instance, change the way it votes on the issue at the United Nations?

[Iliescu] As far as that matter is concerned, I believe that the Portuguese people are better placed, are better qualified, to examine the problem. But it must be said that we are always open to democratic solutions to resolve the self-determination problems of all populations, wherever they may be. We will, therefore, always support those who promote such a solution.

Civic Alliance's Manolescu on Party Similarities

AU1207175791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1706 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/7/1991—"The about 200 political parties existing in Romania now represent only two political doctrines," said in an interview with the daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL," Nicolae Manolescu, chairman of the "Civic Alliance" political party, recently created by turning into a political formation part of the organisation bearing the same name, that considered itself to be non-political.

"One of the doctrines, (represented among other organisations, by the Civic Alliance itself)," explains Mr. Manolescu, "is the one that continues the anticommunist spirit of the December 1989 Romanian revolution, which means abandoning communist structures and opening Romania towards a democratic society, based on a market economy." The other doctrine, which Nicolae Manolescu calls a kind of "restoration," has in view, in his opinion, "the step by step adapting of the Romanian society to conditions of a certain economic efficiency and of a higher degree of human justice." That is "the doctrine of Gorbachev's perestroyka."

Asked by what the political party he is head of differs from other important opposition parties of similar leanings, Nicolae Manolescu answered that "the Civic Alliance is very close to the National Liberal Party [PNL] and the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd], to the historical political parties, therefore. But unlike these ones, that do not want to part with their past, feel nostalgic about it, the Civic Alliance sets itself the task of being more realistic."

In Mr. Manolescu's opinion, the "Civic Alliance" Party should be compared with the political parties created after the velvet revolutions in East and Central European countries, with the Czechoslovakian Civic Forum, with Mazowiecki's party of Poland, with the Hungarian Free Democratic Party.

A reputed literary critic, a professor at the chair of Romanian Literature of Bucharest's University, director of "ROMANIA LITERARA," the most important magazine of the Writers Union, Nicolae Manolescu mentioned in the same interview, that he did not want to abandon his professional activity.

Vatra Protests Against Rabbi Rosen's Accusations

AU1407194291 Bucharest ROMANIA MARE in Romanian 12 Jul 91 p 1

[Vatra Romaneasca Union "Protest" against Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen's accusations of ROMANIA MARE's anti-Semitic activity]

[Text] The VATRA ROMANEASCA [VR] Union solemnly protests against the serious and unfounded accusations that the chief rabbi, Mr. Moses Rosen, directs against the Romanian people, through a real anti-Romanian propaganda campaign that he launched immediately after the December 1989 revolution and that recently culminated in the occasion of the Iasi commemoration of Jewish martyrdom! The VATRA ROMANEASCA expresses its sincerest compassion for the victims of the anti-Semitic violence in the summer of 1941, or at any time. However, we are surprised that this painful moment of spiritual remembrance and human solidarity was turned by Mr. Moses Rosen into a new and extremely violent opportunity to attack the Romanian people.

We would have expected that Mr. Moses Rosen, a firm supporter of the Communist regime in Romania, would adopt appropriate behavior after the revolution, as required by the decency and wisdom of his age. However, in a totally unexpected way, Mr. Moses Rosen has launched himself into public life, stirring up much confusion and bewilderment through his most reckless statements, that started with accusing Mihai Eminescu [Romanian poet] of having been a fascist and concluded with the "discovery" that the Jewish Holocaust started in Romania!

Accusations of such a serious nature have never been directed against the Romanian people!

More than by Rabbi Moses Rosen's attitude, we are hurt by the support that he receives in implanting in the public consciousness these attempts to incriminate the Romanian people!—accusing the Romanian people of infamous crimes!

We all have known until the revolution that in the years of World War II, Romania was an "oasis, a safe haven" for Jews, as the well-known American Jewish historian Randolph Braham noted. There are countless examples of Jewish gratitude for the courage and humanity of the Romanians, who, headed by Marshal Antonescu, protected the Jewish community in Romania as well as they could in those dreadful years, when the Romanian people also sacrificed an unfairly great amount of innocent blood.

Thus, university professor Israel Gutman says that the Nazi plans to deport Jews from Romania to the extermination camps in Poland faced the "strong opposition of the Romanian people, the Romanian authorities, the government, and dictator Ion Antonescu.... The refusal of the Romanians to hand over the Jews increased gradually, and this resistance was the factor that saved the majority of Romanian Jews from the final solution."

Let us recall the words that his excellency Moshe Carmilly Weinberger, former chief rabbi of Cluj in the forties and currently professor at Yeshiva University, uttered in 1987: "Hungary assassinated 80 percent of its Jews by sending them to the Auschwitz-Maidanek gas chambers, while Romania tried to save what still could be saved and threw a lifebelt to those who were about to drown. Hitler lost the war; the Jewish people lost 6 million of their members; the world lost its humanness and the Christian love for their fellows. However, the Romanian people tried to preserve trust in human beings. We, the Jews, are and continue to be grateful to them for it."

However, Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen launched a completely different thesis, holding the Romanians responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews. We do not automatically reject his thesis, but we reject the way in which he sustains his affirmations: vehemently, pathetically, with no proof, no documents, no authority of a historian, and without proper investigation of the facts!

We do not have anything against taking his thesis and seriously studying it with all the documents presented openly for everyone to see! Certainly, we think of investigations carried out by specialists who have already proven their competence and professional skill. For the time being, if one reads the works devoted to World War II, one cannot see any proof that could support the thesis launched with so much enthusiasm by Rosen. However, we ask ourselves the following question: Are not the goals sought by Rosen through his attempts to incriminate the Romanian people more serious than the untruth he propagates from the pulpit. Our concerns spring from the assumption that Moses Rosen is not the only one who, disregarding the well-known truth, tries to burden the conscience of the Romanian nation with crimes and wrongdoings that are completely alien to us.

We do not exclude the hypothesis of a vast anti-Romanian plot in the international press, a plot joined by certain Romanian journalists as well as Moses Rosen. However, it is very clear to us what stage might be reached if Rosen continues to preach his enormities: In this way, he will offer excellent arguments and a pretext for the emergence of extremism and anti-Semitism in Romania.

The VATRA ROMANEASCA Union believes that anti-Semitism is just as degrading as anti-Romanian feelings. We call on all our members and sympathizers and all Romanian citizens not to answer through the same type of reaction as Moses Rosen's insistent anti-Romanian manifestations; that is, no one should degrade himself to the level of displaying an anti-Semitic attitude. (...)

On behalf of the VATRA ROMANEASCA Union

[signed] The Steering Committee of the Bucharest Branch of the Union.

Valentin Borda—first vice president; Ion Coja—vice president; Ioan Rosca—vice president; Petre Sabadeanu—vice president; Sabin Fagarasu—executive secretary

Federal

Commission Formed To Oversee Presidency Decision

LD1307012291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2324 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—In connection with today's SFRY Presidency decision on further measures to prevent armed clashes and preserve peace in the country, the Presidency formed a commission to supervise the implementation of the decision.

According to the communication, the commission is composed of:

Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, president of the commission;
Dr. Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency;
Dr. Milan Cusic, colonel-general;
Milan Ruzinovski, lieutenant colonel-general;
Slobodan Sarenac, assistant to the federal secretary for internal affairs;
Predrag Culafic, head of department in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs;
Stanko Nik, head of department in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and
Vojin Tegeltija, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration, secretary of the commission.

The commission is empowered to enlist experts and other persons from the staff of bodies necessary for carrying out the commission's tasks.

The commission will begin its work immediately.

The commission is empowered to make contact with representatives of the European Community.

The commission will keep the SFRY Presidency constantly briefed on the state of, and problems regarding, the implementation of the SFRY Presidency decision of 12 July 1991.

Presidency Adopts Decision on National Situation

LD1307010791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2321 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—In connection with the current situation and the development of the latest events, the SFRY Presidency today adopted a decision that was signed by Stipe Mesic, president of the Presidency, which we are transmitting in full:

At a session held on 12 July 1991, the SFRY Presidency ascertained that in individual parts of the country, steps are being taken that are at variance with the three-month moratorium adopted and the joint declaration and basic demands of the SFRY Presidency and the European Community of 7 July 1991.

Proceeding from the fact that such moves directly threaten the peace, security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the SFRY and prevent reaching an agreement on the future structure of Yugoslavia in a peaceful and democratic way, and on the basis of Articles 313 and 316, Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency has adopted the following decision:

1. To demobilize all armed structures on SFRY territory, with the exception of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the regular peacetime structure of the militia, or the police, by 2400 on 18 July 1991.

2. To ensure the complement of recruits to the YPA in accordance with the federal law on military service and other regulations and acts adopted for its implementation. To send up with the July entry those recruits who were not sent up in June, by 20 July 1991.

As the first point of this decision is implemented and the YPA complement of recruits made up, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense will coordinate the disbanding of the reserve structure from the mobilized units of the YPA.

3. To put into effect immediately the decisions of the joint declaration of 7 July 1991 relating to:

—restoring the SFRY border that was in force before 25 June 1991, by 2400 on 16 July at the latest;

—creating conditions for normal life and the work of units, institutions, and members of the YPA and their families (completely lifting the blockade of barracks and other military installations, removing all obstructions, allowing the free flow of supplies, freedom of communication and movement, execution of the regular program of training, and so forth) by 2400 on 13 July 1991 at the latest;

—releasing all members of the YPA and returning captured resources, equipment, and installations of the YPA, as well as equipment and resources of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, by 2400 on 15 July 1991 at the latest;

4. At the very next session to examine the implementation of the SFRY Presidency's decisions of 9 May 1991, in connection with the situation in Croatia, including YPA involvement in accordance with its stipulated and legal role and also within the context of the Presidency's obligations deriving from the agreement with EC representatives, contained in the Brioni documents of 7 July this year.

5. A commission of the SFRY Presidency, that will begin its work immediately, will supervise the implementation of the first three points.

6. The SFRY Presidency guarantees the implementation of this decision.

Presidency Accepts Brioni Declaration, EC Memo

LD1207234691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2306 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's session chaired by Stipe Mesic, the SFRY Presidency examined the implementation of the Presidency's decisions of 4 July on the situation in the Republic of Slovenia and the "Brioni Declaration." The presidents of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council, and the federal secretaries for national defense, internal affairs, and foreign affairs also took part in the work of the session.

Proceeding from the necessity for all to give guarantees for a peaceful settlement of the crisis, without the use of force, the SFRY Presidency is reported to have accepted the "Brioni Declaration" and supported the memorandum proposed by the EC mission regarding an agreement on the modalities of the organization and work of the future observer mission in Yugoslavia.

At the suggestion of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and with the agreement of all the members present, the SFRY Presidency adopted the decision to implement the obligations derived from the "Brioni Declaration" and the memorandum. A commission of the SFRY Presidency has been formed to monitor and supervise the implementation of this decision. It will begin its work immediately and is composed of two members of the SFRY Presidency, representatives of the Federal Executive Council, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

At its next session, the SFRY Presidency will examine the implementation of its 9 May 1991 decisions regarding the situation in the Republic of Croatia, including the involvement of the Yugoslav People's Army in accordance with its constitutional and legal role, and also in the context of the obligations of the SFRY Presidency derived from the agreement with representatives of the European Community, contained in the Brioni documents of 7 July this year.

The SFRY Presidency will inform the EC president of these decisions, the report on the SFRY Presidency session says in conclusion.

Republic Leaders To Attend Presidency Session

LD1307133191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic announced at today's regular news conference in the Croatian Assembly that the next session of the Yugoslav Presidency will take place in Brioni on Tuesday, 16 July.

The session will be attended by the presidents of all republican Presidencies, the presidents of the Federal Executive Council, and the Yugoslav Assembly, as well as three Federal secretaries: for national defense, internal affairs, and foreign affairs. Mesic also announced that Janez Drnovsek, member of the Presidency from Slovenia, will take part in the session.

The session in Brioni will examine the implementation of all the "declarations adopted and the measures passed by the Presidency," said Mesic.

Further on Mesic Remarks

LD1307150291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—"The Yugoslav Army will attack neither Croatia nor any other republic," said SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic at today's regular news conference in the Croatian Assembly, thus denying some of the "black predictions" recently heard at conferences of this kind in Zagreb.

He also said that the Army must withdraw into its barracks, but in keeping with some sort of order and specific agreements. "All reserve police forces and other units must urgently be demobilized, including illegal groups and individuals for whom this represents the last chance to disperse peacefully."

"When Croatia is in question, it is mainly people from outside that this refers to, but they also are being offered an annulment, if they have not broken the law. If they fail to obey this last warning, a law-governed state will have to be put into effect, with all its means, including force", said Mesic.

As far as the tempestuous events and discussions at the last Presidency session go, Mesic said that the top political leadership of the country was united in its stand that peace and a peaceful solution to the problems must be ensured without further delay, but the Presidency failed to reach a unanimous stand as to why all this had happened.

Talking about the decision regarding the Brioni Declaration, Mesic stressed that agreements on the future should be reached peacefully during the three-month moratorium.

In a continuation of the news conference, the vice president of the Croatian Government, Milan Ramljak, and the vice president of the Assembly Committee for Foreign Affairs, Hrvoje Kacic, talked in more detail about the recently adopted resolution by the European Parliament on the situation in Yugoslavia. "This is the third resolution and it is the clearest and the most outspoken one," said Ramljak stressing that the European parliamentarians no longer insist on a united and integrated Yugoslavia.

Kostic on Presidency Session, State Borders

AU1407115791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Interview with Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, by Perica Djakovic in (?Risan) on 13 July—recorded]

[Text] The night before last, the SFRY Presidency ended yet another one of its sessions. Unfortunately, nothing is more certain after this session than it was before. Let us hear what Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said for the "Sunday at 10" program about this session in (?Risan) yesterday afternoon at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the uprising in Montenegro. He was interviewed by our colleague Perica Djakovic from Radio Herceg Novi.

[Djakovic] Many things are being discussed, but very little is done.

[Kostic] I personally had serious reservations about one of the conclusions, the one about the disarmament of paramilitary formations in such a short period of time. This is an unrealistic conclusion in this situation. I am sure that we will not be able to carry it out.

This does not mean that we should not continue the peace process with the help of interested parites, so we can get through this crisis in a peaceful way. I am convinced that we will be able to talk about the disarmament of (?all) paramilitary formations only when this peace process yields some results and when we agree in peaceful way on the future structure of Yugoslavia, even if the result of this agreement is that some of these republics are no longer part of Yugoslavia. But we should agree on this in a peaceful way, in line the constitutions, in our republican legislatures, in our federal assembly, and not with armed conflict.

[Djakovic] Comrade Kostic, Drnovsek is not attending presidency sessions again.

[Kostic] This is just one of many examples that shows how everything the Slovene leadership has already accepted in the talks with the SFRY Presidency and the EC mission is not respected. .

[Djakovic] Mr. Mesic, as president of the country, calls certain sections of (?his) people terrorists.

[Kostic] We were in the position to draw his attention to this and to warn him at the presidency sessions, but, as you know, one cannot suddenly change habits overnight.

[Djakovic] Comrade Kostic, what are the present borders of Yugoslavia?

[Kostic] The present borders of Yugoslavia are where they were before 25 June, and there is no dilemma about it whatsoever.

[Djakovic] Will we finally hear who betrayed the country?

[Kostic] We will discuss this very soon and come up with assessments. Betrayals occurred in many places, including the very leadership of the state. Obviously... [changes thought]... However, we were of the opinion that the most important thing now is to stop the bloodshed in Slovenia, (?save) all those who happened to be there through erroneous decisions. We must first save human lives. Only then should we sit down and discuss in a calmer atmosphere the mistakes that were made, as well as the consequences that should be borne by some individuals and entities.

Government Views Clashes; Presidency Meets

AU1207205091 Paris AFP in English 1940 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Chris Lefkow report]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, July 12 (AFP) — Yugoslavia's federal Presidency held a marathon sesson Friday [12 July] to discuss an EC-brokered accord to resolve a secessionist crisis threatening to rip the Balkan state apart.

As they met, the Federal Government warned of a threat of "large-scale clashes" in Croatia and said the situation was deteriorating in other parts of the country. In a statement, the government said "competent republican and federal organs are losing control over the developments."

Washington meanwhile issued an unusually harsh statement warning the federal Army against using force in Croatia.

"The U.S. is gravely concerned by the continuous mobilization of the Yugoslav Army," said the State Department statement, issued during the meeting of the presidency here. "We caution all parties, and particularly the Yugoslav military, against any resort to violence, the consequences of which would be tragic for Yugoslavia."

The State Department also expressed concern about the "Serbianization of the Yugoslav military at senior levels and in the field." The official said the Serbianization was the result of resignations, desertions and changes in the Army command.

Janez Drnovsek, the representative from Slovenia on the federal Presidency, made up of delegates from Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces, did not attend the session here.

Mr. Drnovsek has boycotted federal bodies since Slovenia declared independence on June 25 along with the republic of Croatia.

Slovenian Information Minister Jelko Kacin said Mr. Drnovsek had decided not to attend because the federal authorities had not fulfilled a pledge to reopen Brnik airport near Ljubljana.

The accord reached Sunday through European Community mediation on the Adriatic Sea island of Brioni was

at the top of the agenda for the meeting of the eight-member leadership headed by Stipe Mesic, a Croatian nationalist.

The meeting of the federal Presidency began at around 10:30 a.m. (0830 GMT) and had still still not finished more than 10 hours later.

The official Yugoslav news agency TANJUG said Prime Minister Ante Markovic and the ministers of the defense and the interior were attending.

The commander of the Yugoslav Air Force warned meanwhile that Air Force planes would respond with strafing runs to any attacks in Yugoslav airspace. Lieutenant General Zvonko Jurjevic added that the Air Force would continue to fly peacetime training missions in Yugoslav airspace.

Slovenia charged that "Slovene airspace was violated by five transport helicopters of the Yugoslav Air Force" on Friday. [passage omitted]

Officials Cited on Bank's 'Detrimental' Decision

LD1207192891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—A decision by the Board of Governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBY) to adopt a proposal by the federal government to return the national banks of Croatia and Slovenia to Yugoslavia's single monetary system, may be very detrimental to the federal government policy.

Government officials outline a number of reasons for this assessment. First, the most effective way to control the monetary trends can be achieved within one and the same system.

Second, Croatian and Slovenian banks already have a considerable amount of money and the NBY cannot order them what to do with it, while throwing them out of the system.

On the other hand, under the Yugoslav Constitution, the NBY is liable exclusively to the Yugoslav Assembly, which means that it can deal with the federal government on an equal basis.

The central bank has evidently done what the Yugoslav Assembly Federal Chamber on June 25 sought it to do, as the Belgrade daily BORBA said. On that day, the Federal Chamber adopted a conclusion that the NBY was bound to "resolutely and responslibly follow the use of the Yugoslav currency as means of payment in all republics and, depending on the given situation, to take emergency steps to secure the country's economic interest."

"On the basis of the government's conclusions, we have taken a decision to temporarily, I repeat, temporarily prevent the national banks of Croatia and Slovenia from using the primary issue and some other elements relating to the joint relations between the national banks," NBY Governor Dusan Vlatkovic said.

It is not known for the time being what the Federal government would undertake in connection with the NBY Board of Governors' decision. It is, however, known that, for the sake of its "programme of survival," it will demand the political leaderships in the country to provide political consensus.

Defense Ministry Ordered To Open Up Air Space

LD1207185191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1734 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government today ordered the Ministry of Defence to undertake all measures for the urgent opening up of Yugoslavia's airspace, the Yugoslav government information office said today.

The announcement recalls the decrees of the Brioni declaration which state that there is only one control over Yugoslavia's airspace and that all domestic and international air traffic over Yugoslavia is controlled and guaranteed by competent federal organs.

It is also underscored that all measures have been undertaken by the Federal Secretariat for Traffic and the Federal Civil Aviation Inspectorate in inspecting airports and equipment from the point of view of air traffic security. These checks have been carried out at the Ljubljana and Portoroz airports, while checks are under way today at Maribor airport. In this way conditions will be secured for the re-opening of airports in Slovenia to normal traffic.

Daily Accuses West of 'Double Standards'

LD1207160191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0947 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA today accused 'some Western diplomacies' of a 'double game and double standards' in view of the situation in Yugoslavia following the decisions of the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia to secede.

Can clear support to the integrity and unity of Yugoslavia as a state go hand in hand with flirtation with international recognition of secession, wonders POLITIKA in its editorial.

The paper especially refers to Germany, asking 'What was the purpose of a mission of four Bundeswehr officers who last January visited the 27th Slovenian Territorial Defence Brigade.'

The paper also claims that there is a 'special headquarters' in Frankfurt which is 'trying to supervise the Yugoslav crisis.' It includes 'not only Germans but also allies from across the Atlantic,' says POLITIKA.

The paper quotes a statement by German Ambassador to Belgrade Hansjoerg Eiff that 'Slovenia has obtained the

arms in a way for which the German Government cannot be held responsible.'

POLITIKA's military-political commentator Miroslav Lazanski recalls that, back in 1987, he was offered assurances at the German Defence Ministry that Germany was not selling arms to the warring sides in the Iraq-Iran war. 'Only two months later, I saw German combat helicopters BO-105 with Iraqi markings,' he says. Asked where they had obtained them, the Iraqi pilots said 'In German factories,' writes Lazanski.

'The recipe tried on Yugoslavia, if it succeeds, could show its effects on others too,' writes POLITIKA, wondering whether '50 years was enough for Europe to realise that it has more often waged wars than unified.'

Government To Preserve External Liquidity

LD1207214391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1038 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—The principal objective of the Yugoslav Government's so-called mini-shock economic programme is to preserve external liquidity and keep the country's foreign currency reserves at an acceptible level over the next three-month period.

As announced by a government spokesman, the country's foreign currency reserves went down 2.4 billion dollars from the beginning of the year until June 28, and a further 900-million-dollar fall is expected over the next three months. In order to keep the reserves at an acceptible level of 3.5 billion dollars until the end of September, it was decided that the foreign debt should only be serviced.

Although the latest government decisions impose no limits to imports, they are expected to go down considerably due to lack of foreign currency.

A three-billion-dollar foreign aid is still expected. Of the sum, two billion dollars would be fresh capital while one billion dollars would be rescheduled debts to commercial banks—said the government.

The rescheduling is expected to be most difficult to realise as nobody will accept it without a stand-by arrangement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The current package also provides for a cut on the Federal budget from the planned 163 billion dinars (12.5 billion marks) to 100 billion dinars (7.6 billion marks). Over the next three months, the budget should be 23.7 billion dinars (1.8 billion marks), of which 17 billion billion dinars (1.3 billion marks) would be earmarked for financing the Yugoslav Army.

The Federal Government expects customs dues and other sources to account for the largest part of the sum and ten billion dinars (760 million marks) to be provided by the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The government programme is in keeping with the Brioni Declaration and consensus of all political factors in Yugoslavia is needed for its realisation. The political consensus should be secured at the Federal Presidency while the government should carry out the technical part of the work.

Body To Investigate Slovenes' Treatment of Army

LD1207193391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Justice Dr. Vlao Kambovski said today that the Federal Secretariat for Justice had formed an inter-departmental fact-finding group to collect facts on conflicts between the regular Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) forces and units of the Republic of Slovenia Territorial Defence.

In his statement Kambovski claims that there are indications that in the armed conflict in Slovenia, there had been violations of international humanitarian law and Yugoslav regulations, that is, of 'conduct contrary to the basic freedoms and rights of man and citizens.'

The inter-departmental group will collect facts on the arrest of YPA members and employees of Federal organs, on the behaviour of Slovenian authorities towards them, towards the medical staff, the wounded and families of the military, and will inform domestic and foreign institutions and public of the results.

The group is made up of representatives of the Federal Secretariats of Justice, Internal Affairs, National Defence, Foreign Affairs, the Federal Customs Office and other Federal organs.

VECER on 'Adroitness' of Economic Program

LD1307050591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1429 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Skopje, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Skopje daily VECER writes that the Yugoslav Government's programme for the forthcoming period gives priority to the economy, and goes on to comment that this is "another slap in the face by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic to all those loudmouths who give preference to politics over the economy."

"In this way, the Federal Government has made it clear to the republics that their complete independence and sovereignity do not stand much of a chance without healthy economies," writes VECER.

Commenting on the justifiability of the "shock programme" aimed at saving the Yugoslav economy, VECER writes that the "government's adroitness can be seen in the fact that it has avoided parliamentary procedures which are often only sterile and interminable debates."

VECER asks if this move by the Yugoslav Government does not recall measures which are only taken in emergency situations and which are reminiscent of a form of receivership.

BORBA Questions Adequacy of Moratorium

LD1307161691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1437 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today asks whether the three-month moratorium on the implementation of Slovenia's and Croatia's independence declarations will be enough for the 'hot heads to cool off and inflamed national, nationalistic and nazi passions to die down.'

The paper says that 'leaders of sovereign states and mini-states (in Yugoslavia) are vying with one another in training their invincible armies and equipping them for battle by buying, legally or illegally, growing contingents of different weapons.'

'Along with probably wrong steps and moves of the Federal Government, the republican leaders have quite consciously blocked everything they publicly declared,' notes BORBA.

They did so, it adds, because they knew that, 'As a result of market economy and political democracy, other men would take both their own and posts of their favourites, subjects and servants.' The power-holders protect their posts 'Even with the blood of their manipulated peoples and nationalities, nations and parties,' points out BORBA, noting that, 'unfortunately, the people do not appear to have seen through them yet.'

The paper also recalls that, 'In spite of constantly growing resistance, the Federal Government was probably the only one, apart from the Yugoslav People's Army, that advocated sincerely and throughout this period a territorially united state of Yugoslavia' based on new foundations and relations. Today, this is the past, writes BORBA. It stresses that Yugoslavia is 'on the brink of hunger and civil war' and that it must 'either obey the foreign powers' ultimatum about a peaceful settlement of disputes, or sink into hunger and war.

Cuts Reported in Federal Army Budget

LD1507031991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0100 GMT 15 Jul 91

[Text] In a message for the public, the Federal Government stresses that it has been compelled to introduce so-called shock therapy in the sphere of public expenditure. That is to say, the republics are, to an increasing extent, reducing the payment of funds into the Federal budget and therefore many of the users will be left without revenue.

Thus, in the next six months the Yugoslav Army, instead of the planned 34 billion dinars, will receive only 15 billion dinars for immediate financing of its needs.

The Federal Executive Council estimates that possible revenue is not to be expected from customs duties; instead of the expected 32 billion dinars, this will amount to 10 billion dinars.

Markovic's Cabinet further states that [words indistinct] such a reduction of expenditure could even be positive, though only in the measure that all other structures decide to reduce their expenditure.

Kostic: Disarmament Period Unrealistically Short

LD1307140791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Titograd, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—It was very difficult. These were the words which Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, used to assess the past session of the Presidency, speaking for Radio Herceg Novi. This interview will be broadcast in tomorrow's program entitled "A Step Nearer the Truth."

There have been conclusions which have already been repeated several times. There was also a great deal of agreement seeking, but only a few agreements are ever being implemented, said Kostic in connection with the SFRY Presidency session. He recalled that personally, he had considerable reservations about the disarmament of paramilitary formations in such a short period of time. He considers it unrealistic. The peace process should be continued, but the disarmament of the paramilitary formations can only be discussed once this peace process yields results and once we peacefully agree on Yugoslavia's future organization, even if some of the republics no longer belong to it. We must reach an agreement in a peaceful way, in line with the Constitution, in our republican Assemblies, in our Federal Assembly, and not through arms, stressed Branko Kostic speaking for Radio Herceg Novi.

Dailies on Role of Army, Attitude to Society

LD1407160991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1433 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA said on Sunday that a necessary step for the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) is to eliminate all its institutional connections (if still existing) with the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia.

The daily believes that 'this would also symbolically do away with any possible sectarianism in the consistently patriotic attitude of the army' and that 'the YPA should have a future since the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia does not.'

POLITIKA underlines in its commentary that 'in order to survive in the future and to recover from the developments which have shaken it, the YPA must re-define its attitude towards the society which dimensions it.'

The daily recalls that the army has made an important step by 'dropping the usual ideological terminology from its rhetoric.'

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes today that the public in the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia now 'understands that the Yugoslav Army no longer has either reason or justification to be called the people's army.'

The daily writes that the 'develoments in Yugoslavia confirm that the Yugoslav generals would like to wage a war without observing even the most fundamental international conventions, signed, among others, by the Yugoslav state.'

Army, Federal Government Differences Viewed

AU1207163991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Olivija Rusovac report]

[Text] At this time when powers have been considerably disrupted because of the political situation, we have learned from sources close to the federal government that there has been a disagreement between the Army and the government of Ante Markovic. Olivija Rusovac has a report:

[Rusovac] The decision on the three-month moratorium for an end to conflicts and the normalization of the situation is not being implemented. On the contrary, current conflicts in Croatia and now in Bosnia-Hercegovina confirm that not only the republican authorities but also the Federal Executive Council have lost control of the situation. We have learned this from sources close to the federal government.

The first proof that the federal government has lost control of the situation is the fact that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has directly submitted to the Board of Governors of the National Bank the proposal that Slovenia and Croatia continue to be excluded from the primary money issue flows, even though the federal government had temporarily withdrawn such a decision in the interest of implementing the moratorium. The letter to the Board of Governors was signed by Stane Brovet, assistant federal secretary for national defense, bypassing the government.

The demand is explained with the fact that some branches of the Social Accounting Service in Slovenia are blocking money intended for the Army and its cadres as the spoils of war.

According to information from circles close to the government, the increasing differences between the federal government and the Army are also senn in the unsuccessful attempts to unblock the Brnik airport. The government will, as we have learned, also ask for an explanation from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense because of the letter from the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina that points out that the Supreme Command Staff is ordering mobilization in this republic without the knowledge of the civilian authorities.

Regarding the letter from the Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the federal government, which protests the accession of one part of the Bosnian Krajina to the Knin Krajina, the Federal Executive Council decided at today's session to reply that it adheres to its earlier position that it does not agree to Yugoslavia's internal and external borders' being redesigned. We have learned this from sources close to the federal government.

YPA Official: 'No Bargaining' on Integrity

LD1407095491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo, July 13 (TANJUG)—Deputy chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, Lieutenant General Zivota Panic, today said that the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) would fight for the preservation of the country's territorial integrity and that "there will be no bargaining about this with anyone".

Speaking at a graduation ceremony of cadets of a military high-school in Sarajevo, Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Panic said that the YPA would "fight against forces which are breaking up and undermining its defensive capability".

He pointed out the YPA's commitment for a federation and democratization of society.

International

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister in Albania

LD1307000791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2048 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Ohrid, July 11 (TANJUG)—Albanian Prime Minister Ylli Bufi, in talks with Deputy Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Gregoric in Tirana today, thanked Croatia for upholding the rights of Albanians in Kosovo, a province which is a part of the Republic of Serbia.

Gregoric, as reported by Albanian television whose broadcast is monitored in the Yugoslav border town of Ohrid, today arrived for a visit to Albania.

'The Republic of Croatia from the beginning has fostered affinity for the Albanian republic, as a neighbor, [words indistinct] dear friends Gregoric told an Albanian television reporter and underscored that Croatia wishes 'to develop very correct cooperation with Albania.'

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister particularly underscored the possibility of cooperation in the field of power, oil industry, and food industry.

Albania's Alia Cited on Border Reinforcement

LD1207165191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Paris, July 12 (TANJUG)—Albanian troops have been put in combat preparedness solely to protect the domestic borders, without any aggressive intention towards neighbouring Yugoslavia, as Albanian President Ramiz Alia set out in an explanation to Michel Vauzelle, president of the French Parliament Foreign Policy Council, which was published in the French press today.

Alia expressed "Albania's concern for the fate of their community in Kosovo," and thus seemingly denied the preventive deployment of the Albanian Army along the borders with Yugoslavia, as Vauzelle said.

A French parliamentary delegation, which had paid a three-day visit to Albania, returned home with an evidently very bleak impression concerning the situation in that country.

"The Albanian people is running out of strength, because great poverty and shortages are sweeping the country," Michel Vauzelle stated today on the return from Tirana. He proposed that French Minister for Humanitarian Affairs Bernard Kouchner immediately visit Albania to establish the most urgent aid to be shipped to Albania.

Vauzelle said he had found "strong roots of Francophilia" in Albania. He suggested that a high-level French Foreign Ministry delegation immediately visit Albania, all the more so that Genscher, Baker and de Michelis had already visited that country.

Italy's Craxi Meets Montenegrin Prime Minister

LD1207215191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1153 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Rome, July 12 (TANJUG)—Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party Bettino Craxi met here on Thursday evening with Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Milo Djukanovic, who is currently on a three-day visit to Italy with a republican government delegation.

The talks focused on the Yugoslav political crisis and the two sides pointed out that negotiations were necessary.

The Yugoslav crisis should be settled through negotiations on new relations which would satisfy the aspirations of the peoples and republics within the framework of a new state community, said Craxi. In his opinion, political and economic reasons as well as the integration processes in Europe entail this.

Djukanovic conveyed Montenegro's views on the causes of the current crisis and ways to solve it, referring to the stands adopted by the republican Parliament.

The Montenegrin delegation met with some 40 Italian businessmen and bankers to discuss the possibilities of strengthening cooperation. The meeting was organised by the Italian Private Industry Association (Confindustria) and the Italian Banking Association.

The two sides pointed out a need for calming political tensions in Yugoslavia to make cooperation possible.

The Montenegrin delegation will leave Rome for Urbino, where it is to attend a meeting of senior government officials of the working community for central and southern Adriatic. The community includes all Yugoslav republics except Slovenia, which has the observer status, and five Italian regions on the Adriatic.

Italy's De Michelis Meets Montenegrin Offical

LD1207194891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Rome, July 12 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis said in Rome today that the European Community would accept totally agreement among the Yugoslav peoples on their future, if it is true, achieved peacefully and through democratic procedure.

De Michelis said during a meeting with Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic that Italy urges the integrity of Yugoslavia, but also for a peaceful and democratic outcome of its crisis.

Djukanovic told reporters after the meeting that De Michelis emphasized that the sovereignty of the Yugoslav republics should be much more respected in future relations between Italy and Yugoslavia.

Djukanovic also expressed De Michelis's opinion that Italy's future policy will have high regard for the important roles of Montenegro, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, since Rome's contacts so far have been mainly oriented to the "three big republics"—Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

Memorandum Signed on EC Observer Mission

LD1407151191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0838 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Late last night in Belgrade, a memorandum was signed on an agreement concerning the EC observer mission that will supervise implementation of the Brioni Declaration and agreements that were achieved between all the key actors in the Yugoslav crisis and the EC troika during its visit to Yugoslavia on 30 June of this year.

On the Yugoslav side, the memorandum was signed by representatives of the Federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat, Slovenia, and Croatia, and on behalf of the EC by Christiaan Kroner, ambassador in the Netherlands Foreign Ministry.

Bearing in mind the importance of the memorandum, TANJUG today carries this document in full:

Representatives of the EC and representatives of the Federal authorities of Yugoslavia and the Republics of

Croatia and Slovenia, comprehending the destructive consequences that hostilities in Yugoslavia would have for all its inhabitants and the serious impact that hostilities could have on peace and security in Europe, determined to find a peaceful means for resolving the situation that is currently causing divisions between the peoples of Yugoslavia, have agreed as follows:

Article I (mandate)

1. An international observer mission will be established. The purpose of its activity is:

a) to assist in stabilizing the cease-fire. To this end to carry out an ad hoc assessment of and research into alleged violations of the following elements of the cease-fire agreed between the sides receiving the mission:

—the lifting of the blockade of units and resources of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA];

—the unconditional withdrawal of YPA units to their barracks;

—the clearing of all roads;

—the return of all resources and equipment of the YPA; and

—the deactivation of units of the Territorial Defense and their return to base.

b) to supervise suspension of the application of the Declarations of Independence for a period of three months, as was agreed between the sides receiving the mission, in the context of the agreement reached in Brioni, especially regarding the regime and security on the border.

c) to supervise, if and when necessary, the release and return of prisoners imprisoned in connection with the clashes on 25 June 1991, in cooperation with the International Red Cross.

2. To achieve this aim, the sides receiving the mission will ensure to the sides that are sending the mission all information and offer all cooperation necessary to achieve the mission's goals.

Article II (the duration of the mission)

1. The observer mission will begin its activities as soon as possible, after the signing of this memorandum of agreement by all involved sides.

2. The observer mission will end its activities three months after the signing of this memorandum of agreement by all sides involved. The sides involved can decide to extend the mandate of the observer mission.

Article III (area of the activity of the mission)

1. The observer mission will concentrate its activities in Slovenia and, if necessary, in Croatia, unless the sides involved agree that it is necessary to undertake activities outside these areas to implement its mandate.

2. The observer mission will establish a coordination center, which for practical reasons will be located in Zagreb. It will also have a regional observer center in Ljubljana. The mission will also be in touch with the authorities in Belgrade.

Article IV (status)

1. The sides that are receiving the mission will be responsible for fully protecting the observer mission and its members.

2. To carry out its observing activities, the observer mission and its staff will enjoy, as will their vehicles, ships, aircraft, and equipment, unrestricted freedom of movement within the area of the mission's activity.

3. While carrying out their activities, the staff of the observer mission will, at their own request, be escorted by at least one "escort officer," appointed by the sides that are receiving the mission, depending on the sector of activity of the mission in question. Escort officers will help the staff of the observer mission carry out their duties.

4. The observer mission will hoist the EC flag on its coordination center, the regional observer center, and other objects, vehicles, ships, aircraft, and wherever this is decided by the leader of the observer mission.

5. The vehicles, ships, and aircraft of the observer mission will visibly display the markings identifying the observer mission, on which the appropriate authorities will be notified.

Article V (composition)

1. The observer mission will consist of the staff appointed by the side that is sending the mission. The staff belonging to the observer mission will henceforth be known as observers.

2. Observers will be appointed by the governments of the countries sending the mission.

3. The number of observers will be between 30 and 50 at the beginning. The number of necessary staff will be changed following an agreement by the sides participating.

4. Observers will refrain from every action or activity not connected with the impartial nature of their duties.

5. The observer mission may benefit from the help of the administrative and technical staff of the sides sending the mission, if this proves necessary. Members of the administrative and technical staff of the mission will enjoy a status similar to the one enjoyed by the administrative and technical staff of the sides sending the mission that is employed in embassies.

6. The observer mission may recruit necessary auxiliary staff on the spot. At the request of the leader of the observer mission, the sides receiving the mission, when necessary, may make it easier for the observer mission to recruit qualified local personnel and accelerate the process of their recruitment. The auxiliary staff will enjoy a status similar to the one enjoyed by the locally recruited embassy staff.

Article VI (arms and uniforms)

1. Observers will not be armed.

2. Observers will wear civilian clothing.

Article VII (chain of responsibility)

1. The observer mission will answer to the leader of the observer mission, who will be a citizen of an EC member-country that in this period holds the chairmanship of the EC Council. Henceforth, in this text EC Council president.

2. The leader of the observer mission will report regularly, via the EC Council president, to all sides involved on the activities and findings of the observer mission.

3. The EC Council President will inform the committee of high-ranking officials, in the shortest possible time, about the activities and findings of the observer mission.

Article VIII (travel and transport)

1. Vehicles, ships, and aircraft of the observer mission are not subject to compulsory registration or the issue of permits in the region of its activities, provided all such means of transport have third-party insurance.

2. The observer mission can use roads, bridges, canals, and other waterways and port and airport services without the payment of taxes, duties, and road tolls, and docking fees in harbors will be waived.

3. On the basis of requests, the observer mission will secure, from those sides receiving the mission, vehicles that may be needed to carry out the tasks of the mission, in the event of the observer mission being unable to use its own vehicles.

The sides receiving the mission will make it easier for the observer mission to use its own vehicles, ships, and aircraft.

Article IX (communications)

1. Personnel in the observer mission will have access to appropriate telecommunications equipment belonging to the sides that are receiving the mission for the purpose of realizing its tasks, including communications with the diplomatic and consular offices of the sides sending the mission.

2. Personnel in the observer mission will enjoy the right to unlimited communications using their own radio links (including satellite links, mobile and hand-held radio equipment), telephones, telegraphic equipment, telefax, and other means. The sides receiving the mission will, within a 24-hour period following the signing of the memorandum of agreement, secure a frequency on which radio communications can be maintained.

Article X (privileges and immunities)

1. The observers, during their mission, will have the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agents in keeping with the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations.

2. The coordination center, regional observer center, and other facilities, vehicles, ships, and aircraft of the observer mission will enjoy inviolability.

3. The privileges and immunities ensured by this article will be secured for the observers:

a) during their mission;

b) and, after this, in relation to tasks previously performed in the carrying out of their mission.

4. The sides receiving the mission take on the commitment to facilitate the arrival and departure from the area of operations of the mission of the leader of the observer mission and members of the staff of the mission. The EC Council president will secure for the sides receiving the mission a list of members of the mission and inform the sides receiving the mission of the arrival and departure of personnel belonging to the observer mission. Personnel in the observer mission will carry their own national identity cards (passports), as well as a document proving that they are personnel in the observer mission.

5. The sides receiving the mission recognize the right of the sides sending the mission to import, without the payment of duties or any other restrictions, all equipment, requisite articles, and other goods that are intended for the exclusive and official needs of the observer mission, as well as the right to reexport or in another way dispose of this equipment, provided it continues to be in a state in which it can be used, including all unused foods, as well as other goods imported in this way.

Article XI

1. The sides involved will decide on other provisions relating to privileges and immunities, as well as other practical arrangements, such as securing food, accommodation, and expenses.

2. The sides receiving the mission will compensate in full the sides sending the mission for any damage, loss, or injury suffered by any observer connected with the mission and will compensate the sides sending the mission for all expenditures that arises out of debts that are linked in any way with the activities of the observer misison or its personnel.

Article XII

1. A decision will be made subsequently on distributing the costs of the observer mission.

Loncar, Italian Counterpart Discuss Relations

LD1307204291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1952 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Ancona, July 13 (TANJUG)—Foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Italy and Holland—Budimir Loncar, Gianni de Michelis and Hans van Den Broek—agreed on Saturday that the possibility of European Community support to the Yugoslav Government efforts should be considered as soon as possible.

Loncar conferred with De Michelis in Ancona, and Van Den Broek joined by telephone.

Van Den Broek and De Michelis pointed out on the necessity to secure on an equal basis both peace in Yugoslvia and opening as soon as possible talks between the leading Yugoslav factors on the country's future.

Loncar and De Michelis assessed that the Yugoslav-Italian relations were excellent and that, despite everything, were developing well.

De Michelis pointed up the need and usefulness of holding the coming Pentagonal summit in late July in Dubrovnik (Yugoslav Republic of Croatia) according to the agreed program.

On behalf of Yugoslavia Loncar signed the Declaration on Environmental Protection of the Adriatic, and met with the other two signatories besides Italy and Yugoslavia—foreign ministers of Albania and Greece.

In the talk with Albania's Muhamet Kapllani, Loncar pointed to the recent letter of Albanian President Ramiz Alia and the Parliament resolution on Yugoslavia and said that these were incompatible with the European principles and failed to contribute to the improved development of the two countries' relations, but on the contrary, "added oil to the fire."

The two ministers nevertheless agreed on the need to continue dialogue, setting out that it was desirable to have the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania develop along the principles of the Helsinki document and the CSCE Paris charter in the complex situation in the Balkans.

In the meeting with Loncar, Greek Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras emphasized that Greece supported Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis by way of dialogue, and on this basis upheld the E.C. concept and initiatives such as the ministerial troika missions of the "Twelve."

EC Observers Arrive; Fresh Clashes Reported

LD1507123491 Hilversum Radio Netherlands in English 1130 GMT 15 Jul 91

[Text] A first group of 20 EC observers will travel to Yugoslavia today. The observers will be stationed in the Croatian capital Zagreb and will monitor whether all parties in the conflict are complying with the terms of the cease-fire agreement. The group will be led by the former Dutch ambassador to Yugoslavia, Jo van der Valk. The EC will send a total of 50 observers to Yugoslavia.

There are reports of fresh clashes in Croatia. On Sunday one person was killed and 10 wounded in fighting between Croats and Serbian nationalists. The violence has been called the worst in weeks.

The former Dutch ambassador Mr. van der Valk, has expressed hope that the violence will not spread. If this should happen, he warns, the EC observer mission will be cancelled.

Hungarian Official Rejects Belgrade's Demarche

LD1307175991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (TANJUG)—State Secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry Tamas Katona today rejected Yugoslavia's demarche lodged last Thursday which said that some actions of ranking Hungarian officials and institutions affronted the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

Katona told the Budapest daily NEPSZABADSAG today that Yugoslav Ambassador to Hungary Rudi Sova, while lodging the demarche, tried to accuse some anti-Yugoslav circles in Hungary for the incident in the village of Karoga, in Slavonija (Republic of Croatia).

It was claimed in Hungary that the village, inhabited predominantly by ethnic Hungarians, was "under siege by Chetniks".

During World War Two, Chetniks were an armed collaborationist organization headed by Colonel Draza Mihailovic, on behalf of the Yugoslav Royal Government in exile.

Katona said he had told the Yugoslav ambassador that "Hungary was concerned about the position of the Hungarian minority" and that he had "made it clear that Hungary is against foreign interference in the internal situation in Yugoslavia".

"Responsibility should not be laid on any nationality and we thus beg the Yugoslav side to do everything so that the release and decrease of internal tension is not done to the detriment of any national minority, least of all Hungarian", Katona said.

"No one in Hungary raised the question of Yugoslavia's borders", Katona said.

He did not, however, mention the recent statement by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall which practically brought into question the status of the Yugoslav Province of Vojvodina within the Republic of Serbia.

Slovenia

Drnovsek: Resolutions 'Influenced' by Army

AU1407185191 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1730 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Report by Austrian Broadcasting Service correspondent Gerhard Seifried from Ljubljana—recorded]

[Excerpts] Slovenia's representative in the state Presidency [Janez Drnovsek] boycotted the recent marathon session of the state Presidency. However, on Tuesday Slovenia will again participate in the negotiations on the island of Brioni. This has been agreed to in today's short visit to Ljubljana by the Presidency members of Macedonia and Bosnia. Two Army generals also participated in these talks. [passage omitted]

Like President Kucan, the Slovene representative in the state Presidency has rejected the recent ultimatums set by Belgrade. So far, Stipe Mesic, the Croat who is heading the Presidency, has not been openly criticized, but Slovenia is watching his work with increasing skepticism. Drnovsek stated that the recent resolutions were clearly influenced by the Army. The next sessions will reveal Mesic's real role, Drnovsek said. [passage omitted]

Statement on Presidency Members' Visit

AU1407142991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 14 Jul 91

["Official statement on talks between the Slovene representatives and members of the SFRY Presidency in Ljubljana this morning," issued 14 July by the Slovene Information Ministry]

[Text] Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic, members of the SFRY Presidency, arrived in Slovenia this morning. They were accompanied by, among others, Generals Mico Cusic and Milan Ruzinovski. The members of the SFRY Presidency had talks with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia; Janez Drnovsek, Slovenia's member of the SFRY Presidency; and Dimitrij Rupel and Jelko Kacin, foreign and information ministers, respectively.

The purpose of the visit by Tupurkovski and Bogicevic was to follow the implementation of the decisions by the latest session of the SFRY Presidency. In the talks, the Slovene side again drew attention to the fact that it is still not clear who is doing the negotiating in Belgrade—the SFRY Presidency or the Yugoslav Army—because it was clear from the approach of the guests that they had two completely different assessments of the events in Slovenia.

The Slovene side again drew attention to the fact that none of the Slovene airports have yet been opened, and it also requested a guarantee for unhindered and safe operation of the Krsko nuclear power plant. The Slovene representatives also reiterated that Slovenia has been, is, and will remain prepared for an agreed and peaceful solution of disputes, and they expressed their expectation that foreign observers will come as soon as possible and begin performing their duties at once.

The Slovene representatives acquainted the members of the SFRY Presidency with the feeling of the people in the regions most affected by the military clashes. It was again pointed out to Tupurkovski and Bogicevic that the Presidency of Slovenia has been informing the SFRY Presidency daily on violations of the cease-fire and other agreements, but the SFRY Presidency has not responded to these reports.

As the Ministry of Information reports, Vasil Tupurkovski informed the Slovene side that the next session of the Presidency will be on 16 July.

Federal Envoy's Remarks in U.S. Condemned

LD1307212191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel has expressed great concern to Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington Dzevad Mujezinovic over his statements to the U.S. public concerning the situation in Yugoslavia.

If I am informed correctly, Minister Rupel said, as Yugoslav ambassador you presented the situation in Yugoslavia to the U.S. public in an entirely unsatisfactory manner. You repeated the misinformation provided by Belgrade agencies and propaganda on the brutal behavior of the Slovene Territorial Defense Forces. This information speaks of the use of children and civilians for military purposes, that Slovene police were holding hostages and were preventing the treatment of the injured and the hand-over of bodies. The information also speaks of the use of dum-dum bullets, arrests of officers' wives and children, and violation of Red Cross rules.

Esteemed Mr. Ambassador, these are all plain lies, Dimitrij Rupel said. With these lies the Yugoslav Army is trying to outshout and conceal its brutal aggression against the young Slovene state. Dimitrij Rupel went on to say that Ambassador Mujezinovic has joined the propaganda war against Slovenia and for this reason our republic can no longer allow him to represent the Republic of Slovenia in the United States.

Kucan Deplores Army Hostility, Use of Force

AU1307200391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Franci Golob on 13 July in Ormoz—recorded]

[Text] [Golob] Mr. President, today you inspected thos areas that were affected by military aggression. What is your reaction?

[Kucan] Well, it only confirms the necessity to strive for peace. The adversary [words indistinct] is not choosy. His first excuse was that it wanted to reach the border [words indistinct] Gornja Radgona provided no excuse [words indistinct] the top generals have their interests in defending Yugoslavia as it is [words indistinct]. This cannot be understood from some general human, democratic, and civilizational principles.

[Golob] As we talk, we are standing on the Brotherhood and Friendship Bridge, as this bridge is called, and it is precisely this bridge that was ruthlessly damaged by the Army.

[Kucan] Well, this may be a symbol. A number of values tying us together in the past have been damaged. I am still convinced that there was no hostility among our peoples. There is no hostility among people. It is obviously the hostility of the Army leadership toward the Slovenes; this is not the first time [words indistinct].

[Golob] The consequences that you have seen are catastrophic for (?common) people.

[Kucan] Yes, they are. [Words indistinct] every war lacks sense; this one most certainly did. There was no reason and no excuse, except to use (?brute) force [words indistinct]. Perhaps not for the first time, this Yugoslav Army made the mistake of wrongly assessing the Slovenes. Our disposition, our bravery, if you like, (?reaped) the consequences [words indistinct].

Kucan Letter On Honoring Nuclear Treaty

AU1207151391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0800 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Letter from the Slovene Presidency to the SFRY Presidency, Netherlands Foreign Minister Van den Broek, the International Agency for Atomic Energy, and UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar]

[Text] Several threats of attack on Krsko Nuclear Power Station were made in the last few months.

On 15 May 1991 three kamikaze pilots threatened to bomb the Krsko Nuclear Power Station by 30 May 1991 at the latest. Dr. Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Chetnik movement, threatened attacks on Krsko Nuclear Power Station on 18 May 1991. The republican organs received one anonymous and one publicly made threat against the nuclear power station on 2 April and 30 May 1991. On 21 June 1991 at 1108 [0908 GMT], a group of single motor military aircraft flew over the Triga research reactor in Podgorica near Ljubljana. On 26 June 1991 this nuclear installation was overflown by two military aircraft, and on 2 July 1991 at 1140 [0940 GMT] by another two military jets. The threats against the nuclear power plant intensified during the aggression by the Yugoslav Army upon the Republic of Slovenia, especially on 1 July 1991, when at about 1800 [1600 GMT] three Yugoslav Army fighter jets carried out a maneuver of close encounter from the opposite sides several times in a very low overflight just above the nuclear plant. Such behavior, which cannot be excused, caused great concern and anger among Slovene residents and the international public. It also provoked sharp protests and a string of demands by the authorized republican organs, international organizations, and governments of the foreign countries, that the endangering of nuclear installation immediately be stopped. Namely, the organs of the Republic of Slovenia and the public, as well as the experts, understand such behavior by the Yugoslav Army as a direct threat of attack on the nuclear power plant, which is contrary to all civilized norms and accepted international acts about the defense of these installations.

The republican Directorate for Nuclear Security—bearing in mind the danger for the citizens of the Republic of Slovenia and for the citizens of other republics in the present SFRY, and for the wider international community in case a nuclear accident had taken place as a result of the Yugoslav Army combat activities—on 1 July 1991 decided to stop the activities of the Krsko Nuclear Power Plant and bring them to a state of cold halt [hladna ustavitev]. The republican organs and the Krsko Nuclear Power Plant informed the authorized international organizations and the governments of foreign countries about the above-mentioned threats and activities of the Yugoslav Army. Besides this, other security and protective measures were also taken in the Republic of Slovenia.

The Presidency of Slovenia, bearing in mind:

the possible consequences of an attack on the nuclear power plant or any other nuclear installation, and taking into account the fact that in 1983 the SFRY Government was one of the initiators of the resolution on nonaggression of nuclear installations that obliges all member countries of the International Agency for the Atomic Energy to explicitly prohibit all armed attacks on nuclear installations;

that the SFRY delegation at the 34th Summit of the General Conference of the International Agency for Atomic Energy 1990 voted in favor of the resolution that prohibits all armed attacks upon nuclear installations intended for peaceful usage, those that are still being built and those that are already operational;

that the endangering of Krsko Nuclear Power Plant and of the research reactor Triga in Podgorica near Ljubljana by the Yugoslav Army was also contrary to the Geneva Convention for the protection of civilians during war from 1949, and the supplementary protocols of this convention demanding that full attention be paid during the fighting so that the natural environment is protected from extensive, long-lasting damage that can be hazardous for the health and survival of the residents, and

which also regulates that installations and ducts containing hazardous substances [nevarne sile],—dams, dikes, and nuclear power plants—cannot be attacked, not even in cases where these installations are military premises, if such an attack could cause the release of dangerous substances, and therefore, also great losses among the civilians;

that the international public firmly reacted to anonymous and public threats and overflights of the combat aircraft of the Yugoslav Army over the nuclear installations, and that the International Agency for the Atomic Energy sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency demanding assurances from the Presidency that it had carried out all security measures to prevent hostile actions over Krsko nuclear power station or in its direct vicinity that could threaten its structure and safety; proposes that: the SFRY Presidency, within the limits of its competences and responsibility, ensure that the Yugoslav Army and other federal organs unconditionally respect the abovementioned resolutions of the International Agency for the Atomic Energy on nonaggression of nuclear installations—resolution GC 27PRESS/407 and resolution GC 34/939, as well as regulations of the Geneva Convention on the protection of civilian persons during the war, Official Gazetteer FLRJ No 24/30, and the supplementary protocols to this convention, Official Gazetteer SFRY 16/78, that refer to the protection of premises and ducts containing hazardous substances.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia is at the same time announcing its decision to make sure that the Territorial Defense and other defensive forces of the Republic of Slovenia will strictly adhere to the abovementioned resolutions of the International Agency for the Atomic Energy, and the Geneva Convention with the additional protocols.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia and the public justifiably expect a definite answer and assurances by the SFRY Presidency that no further breaching of international acts on nonaggression and protection of nuclear installations, which have also been signed by the SFRY, will take place in the future.

[Signed] Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia.

Kucan Comments on Federal Presidency Decision

AU1307160691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Members of the Presidency of Slovenia, of the Slovene Assembly, and of the republican government today visited the places in Slovenia that were worst affected during the Yugoslav Army aggression.

Slovene President Milan Kucan and Internal Affairs Minister Igor Bavcar inspected Gornja Radgona, Sentilj, Murska Sobota, and Ormoz. Let us first hear what President Kucan said regarding the Yugoslav Presidency decisions:

[Begin recording] [Kucan] These decisions seem to have been made as if there had been no Brioni declaration. As I see it, the Presidency of the Republic of Yugoslavia is one of those that must realize its agreement to and respect for this declaration. So, there is a question of what will happen with this declaration.

In the Slovene Assembly, we of course supported this declaration, firmly convinced that all obligations and guarantees given in it will apply. I think that two points of yesterday's conclusions are sensitive: the point referring to recruits and the point referring to the border.

[Words indistinct] you know what happened. (?There could be no) sensible and responsible man who would send the Army among these people under such conditions. Of course, the positions of the Assembly are tied to the problem of recruits. (?After the occupation, there can be) no sensible man who would seriously think that Slovene boys will ever again serve in this Army.

Everything is therefore left for further negotiations, the trial of nerves and strength, and of course the conviction that ultimately it is the Presidency that is responsible for peace in this country.

[Unidentified reporter] And the weapons? We have also heard that arms should remain in the hands of the Army and the police.

[Kucan] (?You see) I am convinced that they will first declare what is missing, so that the procedure of handing them back can begin. People have carried away a lot of arms, and probably no one knows what the Army (?had brought in, what it took out) and what it actually wants back. Let them first declare what they think is missing and negotiations may then start on handing back and searching for these arms.

Presidency Decisions Seen as 'Contradictory'

AU1307170191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Irena Majce report]

[Text] After visiting Medvedjek and Novo Mesto today, Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle and Defense Minister Janez Jansa inspected what we may call the famous battlefield in Krakovski Gozd. In Brezice they greeted the soldiers of the regional staff of the Territorial Defense for the Sava valley.

Lojze Peterle said that 90 days are ahead with no less tension in the diplomatic field than was experienced by the military forces. He expects that the opposite side will try to profit from the organizational advantages it possesses. He is nevertheless convinced that we will persist with the help of world public opinion, which supports us.

What does the prime minister think about the conclusions reached by the Presidency in Belgrade?

[Begin Peterle recording] These conclusions are realizable to a great extent, but we would hope for them to be implemented in the sense of the Brioni Declaration or its demands. It is particularly significant that all units should be withdrawn to barracks. Different interpretations exist here, whether this withdrawal applies only to the units in Slovenia and Croatia or to the rest of Yugoslavia. I think that, (?in my) interpretation, it applies to all units in Yugoslavia.

I think, however, that it will be very difficult to achieve what (?the members of) the Presidency desire in regard to filling the Army's ranks with recruits. The strong units mobilized in Serbia—it is a matter of about 200,000 soldiers—should be demobilized on this basis.

This is a kind of condition setting which, in a sense, is dangerous. It is clear that after all that happened it is no longer possible to count upon filling the Army's ranks with new recruits, because one republic after another said that it will no longer provide its boys for such an Army. Difficulties will surely appear here, but I think that this second side will also have to understand that it is better that these boys are mowing the cornfields now and harvest what nature has given, rather than sweat in Army uniforms. [end recording]

Janez Jansa believes that the Belgrade conclusions are very contradictory and not at all conciliatory. On the one hand, they formally accept the Brioni Declaration, and on the other hand they reject it in practice. The question therefore arises what the observers coming to our country tomorrow will do at all, considering that the Presidency has established another commission that should (?supervise) the implementation of these conclusions.

The conclusions are far from trying to return the situation to the time before 25 June 1991; they also demand changes to things which happened much earlier. The Army is thus still setting the conditions.

[Begin Jansa recording] It is clear that what happened is precisely what Adzic said. He said: We will force the Presidency to accept our conditions, or else we will bypass the Presidency. For the time being the matter is worse, because the Army can act in accordance with the conclusion of a quasi-legitimate organ. For the international public, it is a legitimate organ, and the consequences may be worse because this facade has remained. This position of the Army [words indistinct] [end recording]

Drnovsek Comments on Presidency Talks

AU1407171391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Statement by Janez Drnovsek, Slovene member of the Yugoslavia Presidency, on the talks with Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic, members of the Yugoslavia Presidency, in Ljubljana on 14 July—recorded]

[Text] [Drnovsek] Today's visit by the federal delegation was devoted to the realization of federal presidency decisions. We became more or less acquainted with their positions and proposals. We talked about the system of monitoring, of observers, that we should set up now that the memorandum with the EC has been signed.

From the (?Slovene) side, no definitive replies or definitive positions were presented. After tomorrow's session of the Slovene leadership, they will be presented Tuesday at the Brioni session of the Presidency. (?We maintain) that the session of the federal Presidency has made proposals that we may call an ultimatum and that they exceed the Brioni Declaration—they exceed what is contained in the Brioni Declaration.

We discussed these matters today and some are not acceptable to Slovenia. We will declare our views to this effect. I did not participate at the session of the federal Presidency, as I had stated prior to the meeting, because the session was held in Belgrade. We had proposed that the session be held outside Belgrade, and in a way, also because we wanted to finally determine what the role of the federal Presidency is if Slovenia does not participate in it, so that against a side which has been displaying quite homogeneous positions lately, Slovenia should be a side with its own positions.

[Announcer] Janez Drnovsek also said that he will attend the Tuesday session of the Yugoslavia Presidency in Brioni. He intends to broach four questions: the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia; the return of Slovene servicemen who serve their military service outside their republic; the problems of the damage caused in Slovenia; and the responsibility for the military engagement in Slovenia.

TANJUG Details Slovene Presidency Letter

LD1207184391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia sent a letter today to the SFRY Presidency which cites "examples of violations of the Brioni Declaration yesterday, during the day and night, by the Yugoslav Army and Federal authorities."

"The Yugoslav Army and some federal organs have continued to violate the obligations they accepted in the Brioni Declaration and endangered the achieved level of the cease-fire by their actions in the above-mentioned period," the Slovenian Presidency alleges in its letter. "Although there are no technical obstacles and the landing and take-off of aircraft has been ensured, the federal organs are still preventing the opening up for traffic of airports in the Republic of Slovenia and inventing various excuses in the process," it is alleged in the letter.

The Slovenian Presidency's letter alleges, among other things, that "units of the Yugoslav Army yesterday took up positions in several places on the border with the

Republic of Slovenia from barracks in the Republic of Croatia. This is a matter of armored units that have occupied lines of communication on the border at Jelsane, Brod na Kupi, and at Bregana."

The letter alleges "that the Yugoslav Army, the whole time, is continuing its numerous overflights of the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. The vast majority of these overflights by helicopters and aircraft are unannounced. The Yugoslav Army continues to refuse to allow goods transported by military helicopters to be inspected, and in several instances shipments of military equipment, weapons, and teams have been observed. Aircraft and helicopters continue to conduct surveillance of and gather information on individual areas and facilities."

At the end of the letter the Slovenian Presidency says "that in the implementation of item six of the annex of the Brioni Declaration, the attitude and behavior of the Yugoslav Army has so far not changed. The Army is rejecting any mediation role by the Red Cross and has still not announced data on officers and soldiers who have been imprisoned in barracks. The officers of the Yugoslav Army, who were released as prisoners from collection centers in Slovenia have again been armed and are being returned by helicopter to their military units. The SFRY Presidency has not yet responded to the demand for the release of people from Slovenia doing their military service," the Slovenian Presidency concludes in its letter to the SFRY Presidency.

Maribor Paper Calls For Army Leadership Purge

LD1107185491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Maribor, July 11 (TANJUG)—The Maribor daily VECER today assesses the European Parliament resolution on Yugoslavia, adopted yesterday, as a "big moral victory of the (Slovenian leadership's) policy".

Slovenia unilaterally declared independence on June 25, but the Yugoslav Army prevented the beginning of its implementation. The Federal Government sent the Army to protect the Yugoslav border in Slovenia.

VECER writes that the European deputies in Strasbourg made a great, perhaps historic, shift in the relatively conservative view of European architecture.

The resolution treats Yugoslavia as made up of "sovereign regions with the right to self-determination including secession".

The European Parliament appealed for "restraint in the fresh use of force" in Yugoslavia and threatened that a "continuation of the Federal Army's interference in the political crisis" could lead to a suspension of all forms of aid and cooperation.

VECER believes that the Federal Presidency is to make the move now and "show that it is controlling the Army". This can be done in only one way—by changes in the Army leadership as a result of which, all those responsible for the attack on Slovenia and the Army's interference in political decision-making would be sent to the dustbin of history, VECER writes.

Slovenia Fails To Respect Customs Provisions

LD1207191291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Custom and other import duties from Slovenia are still not being paid into the federal budget. According to information from the Federal Customs Administration, goods and passenger traffic at the border crossings into Slovenia is certainly negligible, but the managers and heads of customs posts in this republic are not in contact with the Federal Customs Administration.

A statement by the Secretariat of Information of the Federal Executive Council says, however, there is hope that Slovenia will respect the provisions of the Brioni Declaration. Andrej Ocvirk, deputy prime minister of the Slovene government, today informed Dr. Radosav Sekulic, director of the Federal Customs Administration, that this republic will revert to the situation of 25 June.

The Secretariat of Information of the Federal Executive Council reports that Ocvirk has proposed to determine the further functioning of the customs service on the territory of Slovenia during the period of moratorium at a meeting next week.

DELO Accuses West, EC of Betrayal

LD1307075991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1406 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 12 (TANJUG)—Slovenian DELO daily writes that there is a strong impression that the West, or the European Community (E.C.) in this concrete case, "has betrayed Slovenia at a time when it is to be or not to be."

In assessing that the provisions of the Brioni agreement were difficult for Slovenia, the paper writes that "for the E.C., Yugoslavia still exists" but the E.C. "is actually disinterested in its (Yugoslavia's) internal relations. Slovenia and Croatia are entitled to self-determination, but not yet to international recognition."

As DELO sees it, "Not one state or a community of states will use its army to come to Slovenia's or Croatia's rescue, because the conflicts and fightings are, and will be, an internal matter of Yugoslavia. There is a cynical overtone to the pledge that some Western countries would recognize Slovenia, should it once more be the victim of an attack."

DELO Advocates 'New Role' for Presidency

LD1307135491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1032 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 13 (TANJUG)—The Ljubljana daily DELO on Saturday described the Yugoslav Presidency as a 'rigid organ which has caused more harm than benefit in the past year.' It points out that the same is happening now when its president is Stjepan Mesic, who represents the Republic of Croatia.

'The Presidency is now trying to win back its "lost" member Janez Drnovsek,' writes DELO, adding that Drnovsek, the representative of the Republic of Slovenia, will cooperate only as a negotiator, as he has already informed this body.

The paper, published in the Slovenian capital, writes that a 'return of Slovenian Federal officials to Belgrade would be seen (in Slovenia) as recognition of the federation.'

'A big opportunity for building a new role of the Presidency lies precisely in negotiations. It could, on the one hand, monitor the implementation of the agreement throughout Yugoslavia and, on the other, take care, in its role of the supreme commander, that the Yugoslav Army does not violate the Brioni Declaration on the withdrawal of arms and the observance of peace throughout Yugoslavia—until we separate,' writes DELO.

DELO Says 'Union of Opposites' Possible

LD1307042791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Ljubljana daily DELO writes today that it finds it unusual that in talks on Yugoslavia's future no one has mentioned the Soviet Union, where, according to DELO, "the conception of a union of sovereign and independent states is coming into being."

DELO assesses that in the Soviet Union, apart from the process of determining the rights of sovereign republics, the process of a new integration is also going on, and with a "negligible amount of quarrels" on whether the future alliance will be called a federation or a confederation.

What is more, writes DELO, it seems that both options will be possible—both the departure of those who "no longer wish any kind of political or state link with Moscow" and of those who "want a democratic and voluntary union of partners who are now on very bad terms."

"It is suprising that the Yugoslav search for a solution to the crisis has not looked towards this example," because, according to DELO, "it shows that with common sense, it is possible to have a union of opposites."

Kucan Rejects Demobilization Deadlines

AU1307173491 Paris AFP in English 1719 GMT 13 July 91

[Text] Ormoz, Yugoslavia, July 13 (AFP)—Slovenian President Milan Kucan rejected Saturday a series of deadlines set by the Yugoslav Federal Presidency, including an ultimatum for the breakaway republic's local defense forces to demobilize by Thursday.

"We will demobilize when we have guarantees there will be peace, that is to say when the Yugoslav Army has returned to barracks," Mr. Kucan said in an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here on the Slovenian-Croatian border.

He described the deadlines as "unrealistic and unworkable" and said they were the result of pressure from the Yugoslav Army on the Federal Presidency.

Kacin Says All Army Officers Released

LD1207184691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 12 (TANJUG)—In Slovenia there are no more detained officers of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) after one group of 120 JNA officers was released yesterday, Slovenian information minister Jelko Kacin told a news conference here today.

Kacin said that soldiers were still deserting and surrendering themselves to the Territorial Defence (TD) of Slovenia. As for the demobilization of the Slovenian TD, it "unwinds continuously and this weekend the least possible number of soldiers is expected to be within the TD."

Kacin read out Janez Drnovsek's explanation why he would not go to attend today's meeting of the Yugoslav State Presidency in Belgrade. His decision not to go was due, among other things, to the federal authorities' failure to reopen to traffic the airport of Brnik outside Ljubljana.

Defense Ministry Clarifies Military Service Laws

LD1207230391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2200 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] The Slovene Defense Ministry has issued a public explanation of some ambiguities concerning the implementation of the law on military service and of constitutional laws on the implementation of constitutional amendments relative to national defense and of the situation that has arisen after a great number of the citizens of Slovenia and other persons left Yugoslav Army units.

The ministry begins by explaining that Slovenia approved defense legislation as early as September last year and during the first half of this year with the result that the suspension implicit in the Brioni declaration does not refer to defense legislation.

According to our republican legislation there is seven-month military service in our republic. Therefore, all those who have not completed their seven-month military service in the Yugoslav Army have to complete their duties in Slovene Territorial Defense units and institutions. Municipal administrative organs responsible for national defense have precise instructions whereby they must terminate military service for all Yugoslav Army soldiers from Slovenia who, at the invitation of the republican presidency, left Yugoslav Army units on the day when individual conscripts left their unit. Those who have completed their military service in this way will be detailed to the reserve units of the Slovene Territorial Defense and are free to return home.

The ministry goes on to say that the Yugoslav Army military police, in some instances by brutally entering the premises, are trying to apprehend the men who have left the units of the aggressor Yugoslav Army. The ministry warns our citizens not to be taken in by the various provocations by military police and security service members and stresses that on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia, the Yugoslav Army military police have no authority outside the barracks and other military installations. Military personnel on active service and civilian personnel who have left the units of the occupying Yugoslav Army enjoy all legal and other security and, during its session today, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia approved specific decisions to allow these rights to be implemented very soon.

The ministry has also stated that information and documents have been collated on the mistreatment of Slovene men in various Yugoslav Army garrisons and units. Very shortly the documents will be passed on to the Slovene, Yugoslav, and International Red Cross organizations. In keeping with the stipulations of the Brioni declaration, the International Red Cross is obliged to ensure the release of all imprisoned men and officers and facilitate a return to normal life for the others.

In conclusion, the Defense Ministry invites the appropriate Yugoslav Army commands to stop immediately the military police activity outside the barracks, because this activity aggravates the sensitive atmosphere under the cease-fire situation that, despite the constant violations by the Yugoslav Army, has slowly begun to return to normal.

Croatia

Mesic Dismisses Predictions of Army Attack

LD1307125391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] will not attack anyone, not even Croatia, said Stipe Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, at today's regular press conference in the Croatian Assembly, thus denying some of the "black predictions" heard recently in Zagreb.

The majority of questions referred to the conclusions from the last Presidency session. In this connection Mesic said that the Army must withdraw to the barracks, but in keeping with some sort of order and specific agreements. All reserve police forces and other units must urgently be demobilized, including the illegal groups and individuals for whom this represents the last chance for a peaceful separation, confirmed Mesic.

"If they fail to obey this, the last warning, a law-governed state will have to be put into effect with all its instruments, which also means with force," said Mesic.

As for numerous discussions at the last session of the Federal Presidency, Mesic said that the country's highest political leadership is united in its stand that peace and a peaceful solution to the problems must be ensured without further delay, but the Presidency failed to reach a unanimous stand on why all this has happened.

Mesic Compares Serbia's Milosevic to Hitler

LD1207171791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1437 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] London, July 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency President Stjepan Mesic has in an interview to the London newspaper THE EUROPEAN, published today, accused Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic of behaving like Hitler did prior to World War Two.

Describing the attack on Serbian President Milosevic as "appalling," THE EUROPEAN quoted Mesic as saying that "Milosevic has strong appetite for territories, but is pretending to be interested solely in the fate of thousands of Serbs in Croatia and other parts of Yugoslavia.

"Milosevic can be compared with Hitler, for Hitler was also saying he wanted to protect the Germans outside Germany.... Milosevic now maintains that he wants to protect the Serbs outside Serbia," Mesic said.

Mesic admitted that he was using "strong words," but, he said, it was important that Europe understood that "Milosevic is an imperialist."

THE EUROPEAN underscored that Mesic has explicitly told a reporter, who made the interview, that he was not a neutral president and that he was confident Yugoslavia's disintegration was inevitable.

"I am not neutral. I am a Croat and I want to protect Croatia, but not to the detriment of the others. Let everybody live on his own account and from his own resources," Mesic said.

He set out that "Croatia was occupied by the Serbian army, but Croats will not surrender, they will fight against it."

According to Mesic, negotiations on a peaceful de-unification are now the only choice.

HNS Condemns Federal Presidency, Mesic

LD1407015991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2005 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 13 (TANJUG)—Croatia's National Party (HNS) on Saturday [13 July] strongly criticized the Presidency of Yugoslavia over its decision adopted on Friday, and especially condemned Presidency President Stjepan Mesic for signing such a decision, which in their view, ran counter to Croatia's interests.

The HNS anouncement said that a "military coup was carried out in Yugoslavia" and that the Presidency on Friday gave "legitimacy to the military coup."

The announcement said the Presidency decision "legalized the conduct of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army, which the Croatian, Yugoslav and European public condemned as arbitrary and unconstitutional."

The decision, according to the HNS, was "opposed to Croatia's interests" and this was why they have proposed that Croatian Parliament consider whether Mesic could continue to represent Croatia's interests in the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The Presidency on Friday night decided that all armed formations in the country be demobilized, except the Yugoslav People's Army and regular peacetime police units.

The Yugoslav Presidency, as announced, demanded that the obligations stemming from the joint Brioni Declaration be realized without delay. The declaration says that by July 16 the regime as was in force before Slovenia and Croatia adopted declarations on independence be restored on the Yugoslav border.

Daily Says Serbia Trying To Strengthen Position

LD1207151591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK today accuses the Republic of Serbia of 'trying to strengthen its negotiating position by occupying Croatian territory, perhaps with international consultations,' ahead of 'almost certain negotiations' on Yugoslavia's future.

Fighting between Croatian police and Serbian civilians, who are a minority in Croatia, has lasted for several months now. Croatia has accused the neighbouring Serbia of inciting the clashes.

Vjesnik recalls that part of the Croatian public has accused the republican authorities of 'abandoning their people along with the state territory,' and even of being 'prepared to give up part of Croatia's territory in order to acquire a state as soon as possible.'

The Croatian Parliament declared the republic's independence on June 25, but the decision was blocked by a three-month moratorium brought with European Community mediation.

Serbia explains its opposition to Croatia's independence by its orientation that 'all Serbs should live in one state.'

'However, the basis of Croatia's policy is the fact that the republic is fully aware of the danger of war and a tragedy which could hit all the warring sides if a full scale war breaks out,'writes the daily, justifying Croatia's 'option to negotiate.'

In another commentary, VJESNIK sees dialogues between Croatian authorities and the representatives of Serbs living in the republic as a way out of the situation in Croatia.

The first and extremely necessary step should be the gathering of 'a large number of eminent Serbian intellectuals and other Serbs of good will who would encourage the taking of concrete action for overcoming mistrust and establishing dialogues,' VJESNIK writes.

'This could be one of the last attempts to avoid irreversible precipitation which was forced upon both Croats and Serbs in Croatia against their own interests.

Croatian Serb Association Appeals for Aid

LD1207164891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—The official of the Association of Serbs from Croatia, headquartered in Belgrade, appealed today at a news conference to all partriotic forces to give economic, political, and other aid to the Serbs from Croatia. It was concluded that they are, above all in Slavonija, Baranja, and Srem, "threatened with genocide by the neo-fascist Croatian leadership."

The chairman of the executive committee of the Association of Serbs from Croatia, Professor Mihailo Vucinic, said that the Association's document on the founding of voluntary units for aid to Serbs from Croatia, has been signed by four parties so far: the Serbian Democratic Party, the Serbian Radical Party, the Serbian National Renaissance, and the People's Party.

With regard to yesterday's statement by the officials of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] on supporting the founding of voluntary units, it is expected that the SPS will also sign this document.

Osijek Red Cross Receives 4,000 Refugees

LD1307111591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Excerpt] Refugees from Celije, Tenja, Bijelo Brdo, and Palaca are still being received and accommodated in the Osijek municipal Red Cross organization. Clothing, food, and money are being collected. Four thousand

citizens—mainly Croats, but there are also other nationalities—are believed to have fled from these places to Osijek; 1,300 are registered with the Red Cross and the remainder are lodged with relatives and friends. [passage omitted]

Croatian Serb Representative Fears 'New Genocide'

LD1207202491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—The President of the Association of Serbs from Croatia, Mihailo Vucinic, today appealed to the Yugoslav and international public to 'prevent a new genocide' against the Serbian people in Croatia.

'After the abolition of their language and the destruction of property, physical extermination of Serbian people has begun in Croatia', Vucinic told a news conference.

He said that the state leadership should decide that the Yugoslav Army 'protect the Serbian people from a pogrom, but added that the Republic of Serbia should help a part of its [words indistinct].

According to yesterday's figures, more than 10,000 Serbian refugees from Croatia came to Serbia in the past few days.

The association's spokesman Dusan Miklja told Yugoslav and foreign journalists that they earlier wrote more about the boat-people in Vietnam than they are now writing about the boat-people in the heart of Europe.

YPA Troops Reportedly Disguised as Croats

LD1307030391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0100 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] At 2345 hours last night a low-intensity device exploded in (Kozareva) Street, in the western part of Osijek, damaging a BORBA newspaper kiosk. No one was injured, but there was minor material damage.

The warnings given last night at a news conference in the Assembly of Osijek municipality, relating to YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] members disguising themselves as members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, would seem to be confirmed. We have received a report that four cars with unknown registrations left the Osijek barracks during the night. Each car contained four members of the Yugoslav Army wearing uniforms of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Glina Situation, Resolution Attempt Described

AU1207211291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Ivica Mirosavljevic report]

[Text] Probably the last attempt to resolve peacefully the crisis in Banija has failed with the arrogant demand by Slavko Degoricija, assistant internal affairs minister of Croatia, that Dr. Dusan Jovic, the legally elected president of the wartime Presidency of the communal Assembly of Glina, be excluded from the negotiations that have begun in Glina and the refusal of the police administration in Sisak to allow supplies to reach the town. The negotiations were, to all intents and purposes, over before they had even begun.

Considering the result of attempts to find a peaceful resolution of the crisis, the wartime Presidency of Glina issued a declaration in which it calls on all citizens of Banija, Kordun, Lika, and the whole of the Krajina to join the common struggle against the Croatian leadership and its policy.

Despite contrary information from the Croatian Democratic Community, the Army continues to stay in Glina where a Krajina militia station was set up yesterday. The fact that the Croatian population is heartily and persistently [words indistinct] the lies of the Croatian information media is shown by the acceptance of the information that the purely Croatian village of Vidusovac has been proclaimed a Serbian one only because the Serb woman Dusanka Relic was ambushed and seriously injured there; otherwise, the expected attack by Croatian armed forces on Glina did not take place last night. A possible reason for this is the numerous internal problems in the Croatian mercenary army. According to reliable information, many members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and [word indistinct] have deserted and the inhabitants of Croatian villages are increasingly asking for protection from the hooligan behavior of the mercenaries of the Croatian Democratic Community.

Despite this, the wartime Presidency of the Glina communal Assembly is convinced that the next attack will actually be directed at Banija. This is suggested by the accelerated concentration of forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia and the inability of the Croatian leadership to carry out an attack on the Knin Krajina, which, as is increasingly obvious, it will attempt to conquer in the only possible way left: through diplomatic activity in the international community.

'Terrorists' Seize Croatians From Train

LD1207232491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] A group of Martic's terrorists [reference to Milan Martic, secretary of the Krajina Secretariat for Internal Affairs] at about 1900 captured about 15 passengers—mainly inhabitants of Lovinac and Sveti Rok, who were returning from Zagreb—from a passenger train operating between Zagreb and Lovinac, near the village of Medak. The Gospic police administration says that the terrorists most probably forced their way onto the train while it was waiting for the lights to change at a junction. After an inspection, several passengers of Serbian

nationality were released, but about 15 Croatian passengers, including a 76-year-old man suffering from lung cancer, were taken off the train and led away to an unknown destination.

At the Gospic police administration there is still no full report of this terrorist excess, but it has been learned that officers from the Stanko (Opsenic) barracks in Gospic are negotiating with the outlaws on the handing over of the passengers.

Soldiers Desert From Osijek Barracks

LD1307165591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Excerpt] Osijek, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Journalists were told today that 21 soldiers have deserted the town barracks so far, the majority of whom were immediately recruited for the Croatian National Guard.

Considering the total number of soldiers in the barracks, and the intensive propaganda inviting soldiers to desert, the number of those who have left the barracks is very small, a representative of the garrison command in charge of information, said. [passage omitted]

Army Units Move To Aid Petrinja Villages

LD1407002791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0001 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] According to the police headquarters in Sisak, at about 2200 yesterday terrorists from the direction of (Banski Grabovak), Jabukovac, and (Veliki Susnjar) wielding mortars and rifle grenades attacked the villages of Donji Cuntic and Prnjavor in the Petrinja municipality, which are inhabited mainly by Croats.

The Sisak police headquarters informed the commander of the Fifth District in Zabreb of the latest attacks on civilians and Ministry of Internal Affairs units through the Republic of Croatia Ministry of Internal Affairs; and, as Djuro Brodarev, head of the Sisak police headquarters, told journalists yesterday, it has been agreed that Army units will move toward the places that have been attacked. This will enable first-aid teams to get through to the attacked villages of Prnjavor and Donji Cuntic to give aid to an as yet unknown number of injured civilians.

Air Force Pilot Responds To Weapons Firing

LD1407004491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2042 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army has announced that "automatic arms fire was opened on a military plane, whose pilot has flown according to the plan of regular flying training" near the city of Vukovar, in Croatia's Slavonija region, on Saturday afternoon [13 July].

The Yugoslav Air Force and Anti-Aircraft (JRV-PVO) Command Information Service stressed that the pilot, "in keeping with the warning issued on Friday by the JRV-PVO commander Gen. Zvonko Jurjevic, opened machine-gun fire on the attacker, took no further action."

The announcement adds that the pilot "then carried on with his regular flying task."

The JRV-PVO commander on Friday warned that the forces he commanded would return fire from the air in case any attack was made on them in the Yugoslav air space and that the responsibility would lie with those who caused the conflict.

Police Withdraw as Attacks on Villages Continue

LD1407115591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Excerpt] We received a report from the Sisak police a few moments ago that police forces were forced to withdraw from the Kraljevcani and Dragotinci police stations by heavy gunfire and wishing to protect the people who are fleeing from the threatened villages. The terrorists have continued to launch their attacks on the Croatian villages of Kraljevcani, Dragotinci, and Prnjavor since yesterday afternoon. At about 1130 [0930 GMT], the first refugees arrived in Petrinja. Women and children were transported from this area by three first aid teams which spent the entire night in Dragotinci and witnessed the brutal attack by the outlaws who were throwing grenades from heavy weapons on defenseless people. [passage omitted]

Fierce Fighting With 'Chetnik Units' in Banija

LD1407174591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Here is a report by Branko Kanizaj about the latest developments in Banija:

[Kanizaj] Fierce fighting with all the hallmarks of a real war has been going on for two days now in the troublespots of Banija. The aggression by terrorist Chetnik units in the area of Petrinja municipality has so far resulted in attacks on the villages of Prnjavor, Cuntic, Kraljevcani, and Dragotinci, and a large number of refugees who, under the protection of the police force, succeeded in reaching Petrinja, where they have been given shelter. At that time the police stations in Kraljevcani and Dragotinci were not under the control of Croatian policemen. In these fierce terrorist attacks the outlaws used sophisticated heavy weapons which the police officials insist are of Army origin. They stress at the same time that the Army has failed to perform its task of setting up a buffer zone.

We have, however, just heard that, following a counter-offensive, members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry have regained control of the police stations in Kraljevcani and Dragotinci.

Clashes Continue in Banija, Croatia

AU1507101791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 15 Jul 91

[Djura Djukic report]

[Text] Fighting continues in Banija. POLITIKA correspondent Djura Djukic has a report on today's events:

[Djukic] Following the fierce clashes here in Banija on Saturday and Sunday, where the Serbian volunteer squads, referred to in this area as squads of the 7th Banija division, pushed the Croatian Army back from the villages of the (?15th) commune, the fighting calmed down yesterday afternoon.

Units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] are concentrated around the villages of Jabukovac, Kraljevcani, Dragotinci, and Miruga, establishing a buffer zone between the two hostile sides. However, after this, large forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia and the Croatian National Guard began to gather here again last night and entered these villages even in the presence of the YPA.

As may have been expected, this morning members of the Croatian Army attacked the YPA, which responded forcefully. Thus there was a severe clash at around 0620 [0420 GMT], involving the use of heavy artillery. The fighting went on for about one hour and it is still not possible to say that the conflict has ended because gunfire can still be heard, although now with longer interruptions.

As reported by Croatian Radio, the Ministry of Internal Affairs' side suffered dead and wounded in these clashes, but their numbers are still unknown. According to current reports, the YPA has not suffered any casualties.

Yesterday afternoon there was shooting in Glina, where one Croatian policeman was killed and several others wounded. There were no casualties among the Serbian volunteer squads, which carried out the attack.

Army Opens Fire; Several Croatian Police Killed

LD1507054691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 15 Jul 91

[Excerpt] According to a report from the police headquarters in Sisak which we have just received, at 0520 this morning members of the Yugoslav Army in the village of Kraljevcani in Petrinja municipality opened fire on forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia. As a result, as (?the police duty officer) stresses, several policemen have been killed and more wounded. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Belgrade Dailies Criticize Mesic Statements

LD1407162791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1450 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes today that, 'that which had been said by president of the Yugoslav State Presidency Stipe Mesic in an interview to the London daily THE INDEPENDENT, is very discouraging for all those who still believe that Yugoslavia can survive'.

In his commentary, POLITIKA Editor-in-Chief Aleksandar Prlja recalls that Mesic had called the president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, 'a modern-day Hitler.'

POLITIKA points out that 'the E.C. ministers had naively believed that Mesic's election would alleviate the functioning of the state and somehow decrease the fears spreading through Europe while it follows Yugoslavia's agony.'

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes today that Mesic's statement made at a press conference on Saturday in Zagreb (Croatia) 'had grossly violated the Yugoslav State Presidency's decision, which he had personally signed several hours earlier in Belgrade.'

POLITIKA EKSPRES writes that at the press conference, Mesic had said that the 'State Presidency's decision on the demobilization of all armed formations on Yugoslavia's territory, with the exception of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the regular police force, did not apply to the Republic of Croatia's National Guard.'

POLITIKA EKSPRES recalls the recent statement made by the deputy commander of the Fifth Army District Lieutenant General Andrej Raseta that 'the National Guard is Croatia's armed force formed contrary to the decrees of the republican law on national defence in peacetime conditions.'

The commentary writes that 'the Guard numbers about 80,000 troops and officers,' and that 'the Croatiun leadership is sending this armed-to-the-teeth paramilitary armada in revenge and warlike raids against Serbs in Croatia.'

Government Favors Referendum on Nation's Future

LD1207201191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Government believes that, during the three-month moratorium on all unilateral acts, an agreement should be reached on holding a referendum on the future of Yugoslavia at which all citizens would vote, Serbian Premier Dragutin Zelenovic said in Belgrade today.

The Serbian government announced that during his meeting with Dutch deputy and European Parliament member Ari Ostlander, Zelenovic said that Serbia was prepared to implement the will of the people expressed at such a referendum.

The three-month moratorium is one of the points of the Brioni Declaration which was signed on Brioni Islands on Sunday night by representatives of the Yugoslav federal and republican authorities and the ministers of foreign affairs of the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Portugal.

BORBA on Prospects for Coalition Government

LD1307140191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1147 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia may get a coalition government instead of the current one-party government, the Belgrade daily BORBA on Saturday quoted well-informed sources here as saying.

It sees a confirmation of this in the support in principle to the idea of government reshuffle, which 'seems to have also come from Slobodan Milosevic,' Serbian president and one of the leaders of the ruling Socialist Party, during talks with Serbian opposition leaders three days ago.

According to BORBA, the current Serbian foreign minister would be replaced by Dragoljub Micunovic, president of Serbia's second strongest opposition party—the Democratic Party.

Mihajlo Kovac, the only deputy of the Party of Yugoslavs and a popular television journalist, is seen as a candidate to succeed the present Serbian information minister.

BORBA's sources say that economic moves would in the future be coordinated by the Socialist Party's 'enfant terrible' Oskar Kovac, a prominent professor of economy at the Belgrade University. As a deputy to the republican Parliament, Kovac repeatedly urged faster privatisation of the economy.

'The biggest surprise is the view of the ruling Socialist Party's ideologist Mihajlo Markovic, who believes that defense should also be stepped up,' writes BORBA.

'The composition of Serbia's new "government of the capable" will not be known until next Monday,' says the paper, adding that 'no party is willing to reveal more details in order not to spoil the current favourable trend.'

The Serbian Government was repeatedly criticised over the past few months for 'incompetence' in some spheres of its work both by opposition and ruling party representatives. Five ministers have already resigned.

The Socialist Party of Serbia won four-fifths of the seats in the republican parliament at the multi-party elections last December.

SPO Demands 'Legal' Serbian Army

LD1307195191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—Leadership of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) on Saturday demanded of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Parliament to form a legal Serbian Army.

The SPO said the Army "may be joined by any patriot, regardless of party affiliation, and the Army's insignia would be traditional Serbian."

The "command of the Serbian Army must be made up of indisputably skilled and prominent figures," because "this was the only right way to protect Serbia and the Serbian people, the SPO announcement said.

The SPO warned that "arms were being distributed in Serbia on a massive scale" and that "only those individuals and groups from the political parties which have placed themselves under the patronage of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia (LC-MY) and under the command of retired General Dusan Pekic were getting it."

"By way of associations of Serbs from the Republic of Croatia, under the patronage of LC-MY were the National Party, the Serbian Party for Serbia," the SPO announcement said.

Units Ready To Defend Serbs in Croatia

LD1407221691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Badovinci na Drini, July 14 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Serbian Parliament Vukasin Jokanovic on Sunday stated that the units of Serbia's Territorial Defense were ready to the full to protect the Serbian people in Croatia if the Yugoslav People's Army failed to do so.

He told this to a rally of several thousand people at Serbia's border region towards the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

'For the Serbian people the fundamental goal was to live in one state and it wanted to achieve this in a peaceful way. This was why it was necessary to stop right away the armed clashes and protect the Serbian people in Krajina, Slavonia, Western Srem and in Baranja,' said Jokanovic.

In these ethnically mixed Croatia's parts there were almost daily fierce clashes between Croatian National Guard and police on the one side and the Serbs, civilians, on the other.

Jokanovic spoke in Badovinci, a place on the Drina River dividing Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, where a

foundation stone was being aid for a bridge as initiated by the Pavlovic couple, who are businessmen from Chicago and originally from this part of Serbia.

The overall value of the bridge and a business center has been estimated at over 60 million dollars, while one-fourth of the initial capital for the construction of the bridge has been secured by the family Pavlovic.

Kosovo Albanians Under Threat From Serbian Force

LD1407170791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] The presidency of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo today examined the political-security situation in Kosovo in light of the internalization of the Yugoslav crisis. The Albanians of Kosovo are under threat from a large force of Serbian reservists stationed in municipal centers and other localities in Kosovo, the Presidency said, adding that provocations should be avoided and self-defense measures taken.

Throughout the morning, military aircraft were flying low over Pristina and other towns in Kosovo. This produced great anxiety among the population. According to reliable sources, a strong military force and police reservists, as well as a large amount of weapons, are concentrated in Kosovo. Repression is becoming increasingly brutal but, as instructed by the Kosovo Alternative, the conduct of Albanians is as dignified and peaceful as ever.

Kosovo Group Opposes Mobilization of Albanians

LD1207200291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1803 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Pristina, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army has "neither political nor ethic rights" to mobilize conscripts among the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia, as Fehmi Agani, one of the leaders of the Democratic Union of Kosovo (DSK) said at a news conference today.

Agani said "Albanian conscripts should serve their military term on the territory of Kosovo or Macedonia."

There is a law in the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, providing for the conscripts to serve their military terms on the republican territory.

Ethnic Albanians account for 90 percent of the population of the Serbian Province of Kosovo, and around 20 percent of the Republic of Macedonia's population. In certain regions in Macedonia, Albanians constitute the majority.

The given figures are not reliable, as the ethnic Albanians, urged by their political leaders, had boycotted the Yugoslav census last April.

Agani today confirmed that DSK leader Ibrahim Rugova had yesterday left for Tirana, at the invitation of the Albanian Democratic Party. Agani said he "did not know the purpose of his visit."

The Albanian-language paper BUJKU published in Pristina on its front page today quoted Rugova as saying his visit to Tirana was aimed at an "agreement on a concrete and realistic cooperation."

Rugova said he and his associates would discuss "the tasks ahead."

Kosovo Situation Termed 'Balkan Powder Keg'

AU1407105791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Kosovo-Metohija has been called a Balkan powder keg for years. Everybody is now racing to light the fuse. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports about this from Pristina:

[Mihajlovic] Last week, on Tuesday night, there was some shooting on the SFRY-Albanian border. The Yugoslav border guards opened fire on a group of youngsters trying to knock down border markers around the Cafa Prusit crossing near Djakovica. Almost at the same time shooting was heard on the other side of the border. The provocateurs fled. None of our border guards was injured. This incident is reminiscent of border skirmishes that took place during the Cominform time when the Albanian and Yugoslav armies' faced each other on the border line for years.

Weapons are again being amassed in this region. Albania's leader Ramiz Alia raised the combat readiness of his army, and three brigades of the seventh corps of the Albanian army have been moved to the border sector. The famous Albanian bunkers, which recently began to be treated as a tourist attraction, have had their original purpose reinstated.

This was followed by a resolution on the support to Albanians in Yugoslavia that was passed by the Albanian legislature. Tirana is openly demanding that the Albanians in Yugoslavia have their republic recognized and that, as they say, the criminal hand of the red Serbian terror be stopped.

These actions by our southern neighbor were a result of increased diplomatic flights between Zagreb and Tirana. The Albanians on this side of the border are also closing ranks. All Albanian parties are trying to form a national council as soon as possible.

The leader of the Party of Democratic Prosperity from Macedonia said that all Albanians will be deployed to defend their brothers. Albanian brothers in Croatia have already put on HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] uniforms. It is no secret that paramilitary formations are being set up in Kosovo, too. The local press has revealed that three brigades have been illegally mobilized in the Lab, Suva Reka, and Drenica regions, ethnically pure regions.

Illegal communal assemblies have drawn up the lists of soldiers and officers, even reserve units. Albanian committees for national protection have been set up. Even a local police has been set up, comprised of former militiamen. Higher military leaderships have also been set up. Their task is to coordinate the work of armed formations. Well-informed sources claim that these formations are armed with automatic rifles imported from Hungary, Italy, and some Western European countries.

Albanians who have completed military education in military centers in Europe have been noticed in some places in the province. They are supposed to be instructors in Albanian units. [Word indistinct] and surveillance of the Yugoslav People's Army units in Kosovo-Metohija have also intensified.

At a news conference the day before yesterday, Fehmi Agani, member of the top leadership of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, stated that if the present relations persist, armed clashes in Kosovo and beyond are unavoidable.

Ibrahim Rugova urgently went to Tirana to hold consultations on joint tasks. The Peasants Party of Kosovo is giving instructions to Albanians as to how to harvest wheat under war conditions. If one adds to this that the parallel Albanian authorities in the province have been undergoing training for a whole year, then it is clear that in a possible clash the Albanians would be a hard nut to crack.

On the other hand, the Pristina Corps stated last week that the units of the Yugoslav People's Army are well prepared and that the Slovene scenario cannot be repeated in this region. Similar assurances have also come from the headquarters of the special units of the militia of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia in Kosovo-Metohija.

Whatever, war psychosis is gradually being felt in Serbia's southern province. People here believe that clashes could occur here only after major unrest in Croatia. The opening of the southern front would make the job of the Croatian military formations much easier.

One should not ignore Sandzak either, as the local leader of the Party of Democratic Action, Sulejman Ugljanin, has openly been supporting separatists in Kosovo-Metohija.

There are presently ideal conditions for a general uprising in the province, as the dissatisfaction of Albanians has reached its peak. In the last few years Kosovo has frequently been called a Balkan powder keg. It appears that many people are now trying to light the fuse on it as soon as possible.

Ethnic Hungarian Group Opposes Budapest Policy

LD1207194191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Becej, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Association of "Hungarians for the Homeland of Serbia and Yugoslavia" today decided to establish cooperation with the opposition in Budapest in order to oppose the policy of the Hungarian Government "which openly or in a hidden manner is tending towards dividing Yugoslavia."

A part of the Hungarian opposition yesterday sharply criticized the government and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall for his stand towards Yugoslavia.

The executive committee of the association, which rallies ethnic Hungarians in the northern Serbian Province of Vojvodina, today criticized news media in the Hungarian language issued in the province, particularly Television Novi Sad and 'Madjar So' news broadcast, for their "anti-Serbian policy."

The association condemned the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians for "trying to estrange Hungrians from Serbs and for acting against the interests of the Republic of Serbia."

The Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians holds eight seats in the Serbian parliament.

The association today announced that it will help in providing for Serbian refugees from Croatia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Presidency Rejects Croatian President Statements

LD1407204591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1922 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—In response to a statemment by Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, to the effect that the best approach to the Yugoslav crisis and its resolution would be the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that he and Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, agree on this, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina states that the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina would, in fact, be the worst possible solution as it would lead directly to civil war. In addition, Tudjman's statement is inappropriate, since neither Tudjman nor Milosevic but the citizens and the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina will decide on the republic's fate.

At its emergency session today, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency supported the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 12 July, stressing the need to equally observe all the points from the Presidency decisions.

In reaction to the latest events in Gacko and Nevesinje, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency calls on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] to engage its units to secure

the republic's integrity and the peaceful life of its citizens. Otherwise the republic will have to take self-defense measures to safeguard its integrity. To this end, the republic will consider the possibility of urgently strengthening its police force.

The Presidency is of the view that the YPA should apply the same measures in border locations in northwest Bosnia where the peaceful life of citizens is under threat and there is a danger of inter-ethnic clashes.

Izetbegovic Views Splitting Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD1407162691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1536 GMT 14 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—'If anything can fan up clashes in Yugoslavia and then also in Europe, it is a division of Bosnia-Hercegovina,' President of this Yugoslav Republic Alija Izetbegovic said in an interview to the BBC yesterday evening.

Commenting on a statement about a division of Bosnia-Hercegovina which Croatian President Franjo Tudjman recently made to THE TIMES, Izetbegovic pointed out that this multinational republic, populated by Moslems, Serbs and Croats, 'absolutely cannot be divided without blood.'

Precisely for this reason, he emphasized, a letter was recently sent to the Netherlands, the current president of the European Community, with a request that an EC mission visit Bosnia-Hercegovina to obtain on-the-spot knowledge of the situation and to satisfy itself—'which would not be difficult at all'—that a division of Bosnia-Hercegovina would mean civil war in Yugoslavia and beyond.

Preserving the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina is in the interest not only of Yugoslavia but of the international community too, 'to the extent of its being interested in peace,' said Izetbegovic.

He remarked that 'there is, let me say so, duplicity in the conduct of some Croatian leaders, because here they always seek to convince us of the opposite—that they are in favour of maintaining the sovereignty, the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina.'

Asked whether Tudjman and Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic advocated a division of Bosnia-Hercegovina when they talked with him, Izetbegovic replied that 'there was something like that between the lines.'

'There was no explicit demand in this respect, but in some in statements I sensed a wish to discuss it,' he said, adding that for talks on this matter, Tudjman and Milosevic 'have to seek some other collocutor in Bosnia-Hercegovina, if they can find him.'

Izetbegovic Reacts to Tudjman Remarks

LD1307193391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 13 Jul (TANJUG) - If Tudjman's statement is true that the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the best solution I believe that it is the worst." This was stated this evening by Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, in a direct phone call to Sarajevo Television regarding the Croatian president's statement.

According to Alija Izetbegovic, the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina would directly lead to a civil war.

As regards the shooting in Gacko by a group of armed people from Nevesinje, Izetbegovic said that in this connection he would convene a session of the republican presidency and call on the Army to intervene in such events. If it will not, the republic will find a way to put an end to Chetnik activities in this republic.

Karadzic: Markovic Leading Country to 'Disaster'

LD1207232791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2056 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo, July 12 (TANJUG)—The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Radovan Karadzic, tonight said that the SDP believed in the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) and that all SDP members will volunteer to defend Yugoslavia if the Army calls for this.

At an SDP assembly, Karadzic accused the Yugoslav diplomacy of deceiving the world public.

On the government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic, Karadzic said that it was leading the country to economic and political disaster, and on the president of the Yugoslav Presidency, Stjepan Mesic, that he proved his hatred towards Serbs each day.

Karadzic said that the priority task of his party was to help Serbs in the 'Serbian autonomous region of Krajina' and other parts of Croatia where they are threatened, and the primary task of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina was to help Serbs who have fled from Croatia.

Daily Sees Bosnia as 'Hostage of Yugoslavia'

LD1107153991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1333 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo, July 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina 'is living as a hostage of Yugoslavia,' unable of substantially influencing relations along the Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia lines or, for that matter, keeping power in its territory, the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE writes today.

The paper, published in the republic's capital, says that a direct involvement of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Serbo-Croatian conflict would turn it into a scene of religious

and ethnic clashes. 'Pressed with internal problems and objectively limited by mutually opposed national interests, the Bosnian policy is faced with a trap of making a false step,' it adds.

For its part, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes that in case of Bosnia, the 'backbone' of Yugoslavia, 'splitting' the republic may become a 'frontline.' This would lead to a 'madness' in which 'no blue helmets will be able to find their way,' it adds.

VJESNIK calls everything that has happened and is happening in Yugoslavia lately a 'Disneyland' compared to what could happen 'if Bosnia-Hercegovina explodes.' If the Yugoslav conflict escalates, it would mean 'a war of all against all' in the central Yugoslav republic, concludes the paper.

BORBA Assesses 'Aggressor' in 'Slovenian War'

LD1307151691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—There are still too many contradictions and unknowns for an objective estimate of what was happening, from the military aspect, in the 'Slovenian war' and whether the Yugoslav Army was an aggressor in Slovenia, writes the Belgrade daily BORBA in its special week-end supplement.

The paper seeks to clarify some illogicalities or "at least hard-to-understand moves" coming up in the current calming of the situation, by stressing that both sides have their own truth.

It describes the war in Slovenia as a conflict between the "Slovenian David" and a "self-assured Goliath", the Yugoslav Army. The former did not win, but the latter was defeated—by own goals, it says.

"The very appearance of the Yugoslav Army tanks in Slovenia signified 'grogginess,' while the course of operations meant a military defeat of a strategic loser in politics," says BORBA.

Commenting on the claim that what happened was the Yugoslav Army's act of aggression on Slovenian territory, the paper asks, "what aggression aimed to conquer a whole republic starts with 40 tanks and 20 armoured personnel carriers?"

"Had the Army units, regardless of all perceived or non-perceived weaknesses, advanced like a real assailing force, the number of those put out of action on the Slovenian side would have been much higher—not only than the reported figure, but also than the Army losses," says BORBA.

Tackling a dilemma of whether somebody deliberately pushed the Yugoslav Army into a compromising situation, the paper says that a "hint for military action was given, willy-nilly, by Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic."

It is not clear, adds BORBA, whether "one of the purposes" of the tough approach to the "dissociated" republic was a "purge of the cadre composition of the Yugoslav Army."

For Slovenes, the conflict was a real civil war—assesses BORBA—because they were on both sides, shooting at each other.

"Unfortunately, the horrors of the 'little dirty war' do not teach that the lives of young men are at least as valuble as the holiest integrity and sovereignty," concludes BORBA.

Bosnian Serb Party Discusses Situation

AU1207194491 Sarajevo Radio Sarejevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 91

[(Elmira) Selimovic report]

[Text] The annual meeting of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina was held in Sarajevo today. It adopted its statute and (?party program), and a report on the one-year work of the Executive Committee of the [words indistinct] party. By a secret ballot, (?35) members of the Main Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party were elected, and Radovan Karadzic was reelected president of the [words indistinct] as the only candidate.

[Begin recording] [Selimovic] The Serbian Democratic Party will struggle with all democratic and legal means for a federal and union state [federativna i savezna drzava], and a republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina of equal rights within it. We are against a confederative system, the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina's program of work, adopted during the business part of the party's annual meeting, says.

A report on the one-year work of the party and the (?executive committee) was submitted by [name indistinct]. The party's statute was also adopted, and views were expressed during the discussion that these documents must include views on the protection of the Serbs in Croatia and the return of the Serbs who were driven away, as it was said, by Islamic fundamentalism.

During the festive part of the session, those present were addressed by Party President Radovan Karadzic, who stressed that the party in the course of the year has fulfilled all the aims it set, has achieved Serbian national unity, and [words indistinct] of almost 100 percent of Serbian votes at elections.

Speaking about the deputies to the assembly, Karadzic especially singled out Momcilo [name indistinct], (?vice president) of the assembly, and Vojislav Maksimovic, president of the party caucus in the assembly, and was applauded. At this festive moment we will not speak about the political situation [words indistinct], Radovan Karadzic said and added:

[Karadzic] All that we ask for ourselves we also recognize for others. Just as we recognize other people's right to

remain in Yugoslavia or to leave it, we stick to our right to remain in Yugoslavia organized as a modern democratic federation, like other prosperous federations in the world. [applause]

[Selimovic] During the festive session, the guests at the meeting conveyed their congratulations to the Serbian Democratic Party. Here are some short excerpts:

On behalf of the (?group of citizens) of the Assembly of Bosnia- Hercegovina, (?Abdulah Musje) spoke:

[(?Musje)] I would say on this occasion that our political parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina should invest additional efforts, maximum understanding, and tolerance, so that we may have peace, order, and work in our joint Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Selimovic] Conveying greetings on behalf of the Liberal Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, (?Rasim Hadzic) said:

[(?Hadzic)] We simply have a different concept of political organization. The fact that we differ about the basis of political organization is not a reason to hate each other.

[Selimovic] On behalf of the Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, (?Zarko) Lagumdzija said:

[Lagumdzija] I (?wish) once again to express my satisfaction that [words indistinct] today again as members of political parties whose aim is to preserve the Yugoslav community, which the legislative parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina [words indistinct], we make a maximum effort above all to preserve peace, to preserve the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and to preserve Yugoslavia.

[Selimovic] Expressing greetings on behalf of the Democratic Action Party, Muhamed Cengic said that a great responsibility rests on the three ruling parties:

[Cengic] Those of us who are in the Bosnia-Hercegovina government are (?responsible) precisely today for the situation that is taking shape in Bosnia-Hercegovina now. I think that we ought to take an extremely serious approach to solve jointly and every day all the problems that occur in our region. I wish to tell you that in us you certainly have your greatest friend, as long as we jointly solve the problems that arise. A people cannot be happy and satisfied if [words indistinct]. We must build this all together. [applause]

[Selimovic] The festive annual meeting also elected the main committee of the Serbian Democratic Party, and Radovan Karadzic was elected president of the party as the only candidate.

SDS Says Izetbegovic Does Not 'Represent' Serbs

LD1107141891 belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 11 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina has arrived at the conclusion that Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, can no longer represent the Serbian people in future negotiations on the country's fate. This was said today at a news conference organized by the SDS in response to Izetbegovic's statement on the republic's future.

Biljana Plavsic, member of the republic's Presidency, said that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency had not considered the fate of the republic and its separation from Yugoslavia in the event of Slovenia's and Croatia's secession. In any case, Plavsic said, the fate of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not depend on others. Izetbegovic's stand violates the Brioni Declaration, she said.

In the view of the SDS, Bosnia-Hercegovina has already sided with Slovenia and Croatia against Yugoslavia. The forces of secession in the republic have stopped hiding behind declarations on Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty and are openly advocating an independent republic. These forces have launched a fierce campaign against the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] with the aim of depriving it of necessary manpower, thus facilitating its further defeats and ensuring the partition of Yugoslavia without any resistance. This, it was said, would isolate the Serbian people within several independent states and expose it to extermination.

In reference to the current session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, which is not being attended by SDS deputies, it was said that the Serbian people would not recognize any of the decisions to be adopted by the two-nation parliament. At journalists' request, the SDS representatives commented on a statement by Jure Pelivan, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government, that there is evidence of collusion between the president of a Yugoslav republic and the leader of a political party in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was said at the news conference that Pelivan should have drawn attention to this long ago, especially as for a long time the SDS has been trying to warn of this, particularly in light of activities by the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry inside Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Montenegro

President Bulatovic Accepts Idea of Secession

LD1307194291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 13 Jul 91

[Text] Titograd, July 13 (TANJUG)—President of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic said today that the time has come to "accept the fact that some do not want to live with us in Yugoslavia." He added "It will be easier and nicer without them."

Bulatovic spoke in Grotulja today on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the uprising against the fascists, and

said that "the battle for peace was not won by throwing down arms," and that the "Montenegrins would not be the first to shoot."

The people of Montenegro "must be ready to defend themselves from all those who have pretensions to Montenegrin territory."

Vice-President of the Yugoslav Presidency and Representative of Montenegro Branko Kostic today warned that "patriotism was being seriously tried."

At a rally in Risan where the 50th anniversary of the uprising was also being marked, Kostic said that "the aspirations of some who have ruled in these parts are being awakened again, albeit indirectly."

President of the Montenegro World War Two Veterans Vlado Kapicic said that "the battle for Yugoslavia should not be lost," even though he did not think that "people who did not wish to live in it, should be enforced and [words indistinct] so."

Bulatovic Appeals For Peace

LD1207220991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2144 GMT 12 Jul 91

[text] Titograd, July 12 (TANJUG)—Presidency President of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic tonight urged for peace in Yugoslavia and appealed for reasons.

"War is not our aim and we do not want it to break out," Bulatovic said at a formal ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the uprising in Montenegro during World War Two.

Opposition Parties Question Role of Army

LD1207231991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia NetworkTANJUG in Slovene 2000 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Nine Montenegrin opposition parties have addressed a letter to the Yugoslav Presidency. They are asking for a reply to the question whether or not in keeping with the Brioni declaration, the function of the Presidency as the supreme commander has been established, the partial mobilization of the Yugoslav Army reservists had been ordered by the Presidency, as its supreme commander, and how was it possible for the Presidency, as the supreme commander, to agree to the formation of what is virtually a two-nationality army on a voluntary principle and under duress as well.

The letter says that a large-scale mobilization is going on in Montenegro, with rumors that the reservists will be used outside Montenegrin borders as well. Those who do not agree to this are called deserters and traitors and are persecuted.

Titograd Paper Sees End to United Country

LD1207103591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0933 GMT 12 Jul 91

[Text] Titograd, July 12 (TANJUG)—Sheer recognition that Yugoslavia was betrayed by its military and political leaderships can leave only those who are naive and those who have not learned anything from history with the impression that this kind of country needs to be defended any longer, the daily POBJEDA, published in the Montenegrin capital Titograd, writes today.

If it does not want to follow the fates of its (until recently) north-western republics and become an appendix of Europe, Yugoslavia must allow their thousand-year-old historic train to leave as soon as possible and in peace on a one-way trip to the much desired 'yellow-and-black Europe.'

The peoples who remain on the platform of the 'remainder' of Yugoslavia must be allowed to decide on its fate in a peaceful and wise manner, POBJEDA's commentator says, adding that there can no longer be any question of any sort of communal journey - be it in a confederal or any other form.